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REPORT ON CONDITION

OF

WOMAN AND CHILD WAGE-EARNERS IN THE UNITED STATES

IN 19 VOLUMES

VOLUME XV: RELATION BETWEEN OCCUPATION AND CRIMINALITY OF WOMEN

Prepared under the direction of
CHAS. P. NEILL
Commissioner of Labor
by
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WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1911

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

June 15, 1910.

Resolved, That the complete report on the condition of woman and child wage-earners in the United States, transmitted and to be transmitted by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor in response to the act approved January twenty-ninth, nineteen hundred and seven, entitled "An act to authorize the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to report upon the industrial, social, moral, educational, and physical condition of woman and child workers in the United States," be printed as a public document.

CHARLES G. BENNETT, *Secretary.*

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LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, June 5, 1911.

SIR: In partial compliance with the Senate resolution of May 25, 1910, I beg to transmit herewith a report showing the results of an investigation of the relation between occupation and criminality of women.

This report has just been completed and is the fifteenth section of the larger report on the investigation carried on in accordance with the act of Congress approved January 29, 1907, which provided "That the Secretary of Commerce and Labor be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to investigate and report on the industrial, social, moral, educational, and physical condition of woman and child workers in the United States wherever employed, with special reference to their age, hours of labor, term of employment, health, illiteracy, sanitary and other conditions surrounding their occupation, and the means employed for the protection of their health, person, and morals."

The remaining parts of the general report are being completed as rapidly as possible and will each be transmitted at the earliest practicable moment.

Respectfully,

BENJ. S. CABLE,
Acting Secretary.

Hon. JAMES S. SHERMAN,
President of the Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR,
BUREAU OF LABOR,
Washington, June 5, 1911.

SIR: I beg to transmit herewith Volume XV of the Report on Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States, which deals with the relation between occupation and criminality of women. This is the fifteenth section of the report of the general investigation

into the condition of woman and child workers in the United States, carried on in compliance with the act of Congress approved January 29, 1907.

This volume of the report is the work of Special Agent Mary Conyngton. The work has been carried on under the direction and immediate supervision of Chas. H. Verrill.

I am, very respectfully,

CHAS. P. NEILL,
Commissioner.

The SECRETARY OF COMMERCE AND LABOR,
Washington, D. C.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

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INTRODUCTION.

CHANGES IN INDUSTRIAL POSITION OF WOMEN SINCE 1870.

Is the trend of modern industry dangerous to the character of woman? The most casual observer sees that the conditions under which she works have changed and are changing rapidly. The difference between her industrial environment now and fifty years ago is so great that it must almost inevitably affect her physically and mentally. Are her moral qualities also affected, and if so, in what manner? As an indistinguishable unit in the industrial host of to-day, is she more or less antisocial in thought and deed than as an isolated worker under the simpler conditions of the past?

The importance of the question can hardly be overestimated, for there is a strong and growing tendency on the part of women to take advantage of new industrial opportunities. The introduction of the typewriter some thirty years ago did more than any other one thing to open up new fields for them, and how they responded to the possibilities it offered them is shown strikingly by the census figures. In 1870 the whole group of women bookkeepers, accountants, clerks, copyists, stenographers, and typewriters numbered only 8,023; in 1900 it numbered 245,517.[a] During these thirty years the whole number of women gainfully employed increased 190 per cent, but the number employed in this group increased 2960 per cent, or over 15 times as rapidly as the whole body of working women. In 1870 the women engaged in all forms of trade and transportation numbered only a little over 20,000; in 1900 they numbered something over 500,000. The actual and relative increases in the different occupation groups are shown by the following figures, taken from the report on occupations of the Twelfth Census:

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF WOMEN IN SPECIFIED OCCUPATION GROUPS.[b]

Occupation group.	1870.		1900.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Agriculture	396,968	21.62	977,336	18.37
Domestic and personal service	972,613	52.96	2,095,449	39.39
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	354,021	19.28	1,312,668	24.68
Professional service	92,303	5.03	430,597	8.10
Trade and transportation	20,383	1.11	503,347	9.46
Total	1,836,288	100.00	5,319,397	100.00

[a] Twelfth Census, Occupations, 1900, p. l.
[b] Idem, pp. l, li.

It will be noticed that the greatest relative increases in the above table are along the lines which take women out of the home and away from their traditional employments. The table does not show the whole truth, however, for it does not indicate how conditions are changing within individual industries to bring about this same result. The tailoress in 1870 might be and often was the village garment maker, going her rounds from house to house, a recognized and important figure in the community, an independent and respected personality. The tailoress of to-day is far more apt to be employed within a garment-making factory, an automaton during work hours, an indistinguishable atom of the crowded city life outside of them. This tendency is at work in a multitude of trades. Millinery and dressmaking are still disorganized and uncentralized, but the large establishments are crowding the small, and the independent worker is giving way to the apprentice who serves her term and works under factory or shop conditions. The home industries are disappearing or giving place to the sweated trades. Hannah is no longer at the window binding shoes, but in a factory with 50 others, straining every nerve to keep pace with the machinery. Everywhere the movement is going on, and so the census figures, striking as they are, do not show fully the change which has taken place within the last three or four decades, and which seems likely to progress still more rapidly in the future.

It seems not improbable that such a complete alteration in their industrial status and environment might have a marked influence on women in several ways and more especially that their moral natures might be affected by the increased exposure, the increased economic independence, and the active share in the competitive struggle involved in their transfer from the home to the shop, the factory, and the office. There has been a rather widespread impression, not confined to popular discussion but reflected in some of the more serious studies of criminological and social questions, that it not only might be but is harmful, and that the widening of their sphere of industrial activity is accompanied by a marked increase of criminality among women.[a] Apparently, however, this effect has been taken for granted on the ground of its inherent probability, and little effort has been made to collect the data which might confirm or disprove it.

NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE INVESTIGATION.

In view of this situation, there seemed room for an inquiry into the actual facts concerning the effect of occupation upon character

[a] See, for instance, McKeen, Factors in American Civilization, p. 229; Morrison, Juvenile Offenders, p. 47; Morrison, Crime and its Causes, pp. 156, 158; Kellor, Experimental Sociology, Chap. VIII.

among the women who work. This was conducted on two basic assumptions:

First, what is technically known as immorality is not the only offense of which a woman may be guilty. It is possible for her to be a drunkard, a thief, a counterfeiter, or a murderess. She may violate the postal laws, or sell liquor illicitly, or abuse her children, or disregard city ordinances. To consider only those who are commonly known as women of bad character would be to limit the inquiry unwarrantably.

Moreover, if so limited, the inquiry would necessarily be so incomplete as to have little value. There is no conceivable way of making it approximately correct, even in the point of numbers alone. All who have studied the question agree that those who may be called professionally immoral women form but a small part of those following the life. The greater number refuse to announce themselves publicly, live in their own homes or in furnished rooms, often have ostensibly some other calling, and would have to be hunted out one by one. No one claims to know how many such women there are in New York City, to say nothing of the rest of the country. Estimates have been made. but they are admittedly the merest guesswork.

But even if this initial difficulty could be overcome, a more formidable one remains. Suppose a woman is found who, as is often the case, keeps up a show of respectability, lives in her own rooms, and has some part-time occupation by which she nominally supports herself. What probability is there that an investigator could induce her first to admit the fact of her guilt, and then, as an acknowledged wrongdoer, to give details as to her early history, the influences which led her to take up her present kind of life, and so on? The attempt would be foredoomed to failure. Any investigation into immorality among women is of necessity limited almost entirely to the open and avowed declassées, who probably form but a small proportion of the whole group, and who certainly do not represent the beginners nor show how and why women go wrong. For these reasons it was felt that this should be an inquiry into criminality or lawbreaking, not into what is usually meant by the term "immorality."

The second basic assumption is that in a rough way, and with many reservations, the prison population affords an index to the criminality of a community or of any class in it. The limitations on this statement are so important that some special consideration must be given them.

First, it is quite evident that not all the crime of a community finds its way even into court, to say nothing of prison, and that there is no means of judging what proportion the crime brought to light bears to that which is never made public. Some officials have esti-

mated that about one-third of the crime committed in any community becomes known and is punished; but this is the merest assumption. Most persons can recall instances of theft and even of murder of which the perpetrators were never discovered. Most persons also can remember cases in which the wrongdoer was discovered, but for the sake of an innocent family or for some other reason the matter was hushed up. Many people, perhaps most, have a strong objection to bringing to open shame and lasting obloquy a young offender who has hitherto borne a good reputation. They are disposed to keep the affair private, feeling that the humiliation of discovery and dismissal will "prove a lesson" to the culprit. It seems probable that this feeling would be especially effective in saving women from the legal penalty of their misdeeds.

Then, after allowing due weight to this difficulty, it must also be remembered that not all, or nearly all, the offenses which are made public bring the offenders to prison. For a large number of misdemeanors and petty offenses, fines are commonly imposed, with the result that the wrongdoer who has money pays his fine and goes free, while the wrongdoer who has none undergoes a term of imprisonment, not because he did wrong, but because he did not have money. The prison records give no indication of how many offenders escape prison or jail through their purses, but the number is certainly large.

Notwithstanding all this, the proportion from any one class serving jail or prison sentences does, to a certain extent, indicate the tendency of that class to disregard the law. As between classes it would have little indicative value, owing to the power of money and social position both to give a person what he is likely to want without any necessity for violating a law to get it, and to save him from imprisonment if he does overstep legal bounds. But given persons of approximately the same class, if we find that out of 100 following one pursuit 20 are in jail or prison, while of 100 following another occupation only 5 are under sentence, there is certainly ground for considering that the first pursuit needs looking into. It will probably be found either that the conditions under which it is carried on tend to break down character or that there is something about it which attracts those of weak or undeveloped morality. To this extent the jail, the workhouse, and the reformatory may serve as an index to the effect on women of different occupations, so far as lawbreaking is concerned.

"It seems an undeniable fact,"[a] says one writer, "that of late years a marked proportionate increase of crime among women has attended the widening of their spheres of political and industrial activity." If this "undeniable fact" stands the test of an examina-

[a] McKeen, Factors in American Civilization, p. 229.

tion of prison records, then, unless some other reason can be found for it, the presumption is strong that the increased industrial opportunities for women are morally deleterious, and the presumption will become a certainty if it is found that the increase of crime has come mainly, or to any disproportionate degree, from those engaged in the newer pursuits. Of course, due weight must be given to other factors, such as the bringing in by immigration of other races with different standards from ours, changing social conditions, etc.; but these factors might be left for later consideration.

There is still another difficulty to be taken into account. An investigation based on police and prison records, it may be said, is of little value, because a woman does not necessarily come into conflict with the laws when she goes wrong. The really serious question is whether the morals of women are being affected, not whether they are coming into open conflict with the law; and on this point official records can throw no light.

This objection has less force than it seems to have. Immorality, in the eyes of the law, stands upon precisely the same footing as theft or drunkenness, or other offenses; they are alike illegal, and they may alike be carried on, in individual cases, without being brought to punishment. It is matter of common knowledge, for instance, that many cases of larceny, even though detected, are not brought into court; yet the official records are looked upon as furnishing a rough indication of the increase or diminution of this offense through a period of years. In the same way, even though it may be quite possible that the proportion of offenses against morality which receive no legal punishment is larger than is the case in most other forms of delinquency, the records of the police court and prison have, nevertheless, an indicative value as to the increasing or diminishing prevalence of immorality.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

The investigation, therefore, has been based upon records of penal institutions, with the addition of probation records where adult probation prevails, and the facts thus obtained have been followed up, verified, and enlarged upon through every channel and by every means attainable. For a time it looked as if the investigation might prove impossible for lack of facts on which to base its industrial classifications. It is surprising to see how little, in most places, the State knows about its prisoners. In view of the enormous cost of crime to the community, it would seem as if on economic grounds alone the governing powers would take pains when an offender is once safely in custody to learn something about him, to see why he has become a lawbreaker, and how he and others like him may be restrained for the future. But in most places the feeling seems to be that the

State's only duty is to administer a certain amount of punishment—so much wrongdoing, so much penalty—and then to wash its hands of the culprit until he offends again. Even in communities where a more enlightened attitude has been taken, and where it has been required that certain facts shall be recorded about each prisoner, the law is frequently nullified by the indifference of the officials who should execute it. "What's the use of asking these women what their occupation is?" said one warden in a State where the law required that this fact should be ascertained for every prisoner received. "They won't tell the truth about it, anyway, so I just put it down as housework. Maybe some of them do something else, but then others don't do anything at all, so it probably averages up all right." Few of the wardens were as frank as this, but more than a few took the same attitude.

As a consequence, all idea of making a geographically comprehensive investigation had to be resigned, and the inquiry narrowed down to States which demanded that important facts about their lawbreakers should be secured, and to the institutions of these States in which the officials carried out the law intelligently and sympathetically.

The time limit restricted the inquiry still further, so that the following results can not lay any claim to completeness. The investigation became simply a study of women lawbreakers, taken mainly from the manufacturing States. In Massachusetts the women studied were those committed during the year of the investigation who were actually in confinement or under the charge of probation officers at the time of the visit to each locality. Elsewhere those committed during a given period were taken, whether or not they happened to be in the institution at the time the agent arrived. The official records were supplemented by the personal knowledge of the prisoners possessed by superintendents, matrons, prison doctors, probation officers, prison visitors—in short, everyone who was interested in them sufficiently to be acquainted with their history. Personal interviews with the prisoners were sometimes hard to obtain, and were unsatisfactory because of the difficulty, sometimes the impossibility, of verifying the statements obtained. Interviews were used when such verification was possible, but generally it seemed wiser to depend on officials or outside investigations.

The value of these sources of information varied widely from place to place. Generally speaking, in large cities the officials knew little about their prisoners. They asked the required questions, noted down such supplementary facts as they could learn without too much trouble, and looked upon the whole affair as one of routine. But in smaller cities and in country districts it was a common thing to find the prisoner's whole history familiarly known. A warden who has held his position twenty-five years, keeping up a warm personal

interest in his prisoners all the while, comes to know pretty thoroughly the classes from which they are drawn. A probation officer who as man and boy has lived all his life in one community has more than a purely official knowledge of his probationers.

"I've known that girl since she was 8 years old. She's bad all the way through, and yet she comes of good people, too." "That girl used to go to school with me, and she was as pretty and modest looking a girl as you would wish to see." "That woman used to scrub for my wife twenty years ago. A good, decent woman she was, too; its nothing but her miserable, drinking husband that got her started wrong." "That woman is about as tough as they make 'em now, but she wasn't a bad girl. I've always thought her parents were to blame for her going wrong. It began this way." Time and again the inquiry into the past of Mary Zero or Jennie Blank would bring forth some such answer, and often the account of her career would be enriched with a wealth of detail which could only come from intimate knowledge. In such cases a satisfactory idea could be gained of the woman's antecedents, but in many others it was impossible to learn much about her. Verification was always sought, however, for the main facts of her industrial history, and if this could not be found her record was omitted. Although, therefore, the information gained is often scanty, it is believed that it is reliable, and that, so far as they go, the statistics to be hereafter considered give a trustworthy view of the industrial status of the cases covered.

NUMBER OF OFFENDERS CONSIDERED.

In all, 3,229 women were considered, distributed as follows:

Massachusetts	923
New York	840
New Jersey	784
Ohio	269
Indiana	269
Illinois	144

In Ohio and Illinois, respectively, only one institution was considered, that being in each case used as both a county and a municipal house of correction. In Indiana, only State institutions were visited. In New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts, State, county, and municipal institutions alike were visited. Girls under 16 are not included, as another study undertaken in this general investigation covers offenders up to that age.[a] Occasionally a girl over 16 years of age would be found committed as a delinquent child, but in such cases the terminology of her commitment was ignored, and she was classed as an adult.

[a] Juvenile Delinquency and its Relation to Employment, Vol. VIII of this report.

CLASSIFICATION OF OFFENSES.

Having thus found the offenders, the matter of classification presented some difficulties. Age, education, conjugal condition, and occupation are not debatable subjects, but the classification of offenses is a complex affair. Going from place to place, one finds identical terms used for different offenses and identical offenses described by different terms. Thus, in one locality if a woman is convicted of keeping a disorderly house it may mean only that a considerable amount of loud talking, singing, and quarreling goes on there which makes it a nuisance to the neighbors. In another it invariably means that she maintains a house of ill fame. A charge of vagrancy brought against a woman in one place means that she is a tramp; in another it indicates that she is living by illicit means, but that the police lack evidence to convict her of the specific offense. "Violation of city ordinance" is a comprehensive term, covering offenses which may range from a serious infraction of public order to shaking a rug from a front window. Obviously any attempt to classify according to the charges under which the prisoners are committed would lead to grouping together widely varying offenses.

On the whole, it seemed best to ignore the terms used in commitment and to classify as nearly as might be according to the nature of the offense. Even so, it seemed necessary to use three ambiguous headings: "Disorderly conduct," "Incorrigible," and Miscellaneous."

"Disorderly conduct" occupies a middle ground between "Drunkenness" and "Minor offenses against chastity," meaning sometimes one, sometimes the other, and very frequently both. It may, however, mean riotous conduct of almost any kind or degree short of serious assault. As it was impossible to trace up the offense in each case and see where it properly belonged, it seemed better to accept the general term in spite of its vagueness.

An even more indefinite heading is that used only for the younger offenders—"Incorrigible." In many courts girls under 18, no matter what their offense, may be tried on some charge which carefully avoids even a suggestion of their specific wrongdoing. "Incorrigibility," "stubborn child," "delinquent by reason of stubbornness"—under these or similar terms a girl may be brought to trial for a wide range of offenses. She may be merely careless and headstrong, beyond the control of her parents, who, fearing lest she come to serious harm, have her committed as a measure of safety. She may be a moral pervert, a source of danger to the whole community, or she may stand anywhere between these extremes. Sometimes the particular detail leading to her commitment is rather unexpected. Witness this extract from notes of a conversation with a probation officer concerning a girl committed under one of these inclusive headings:

"You say her commitment was a preventive measure, but was there any offense or escapade which led up to the final step? What decided her parents to take such drastic means?

"Why, they had had trouble with her for a long while, but finally she fell in love with a man who hadn't any legs or any money and declared up and down that nothing should keep her from marrying him. Her parents knew they couldn't stop her if her mind was made up, so they brought her into court as incorrigible."

As it happens the next entry in the same notebook concerns a girl barely 16, also committed as incorrigible, who was a moral pervert of the worst kind, of inconceivably depraved tastes and practices. Plainly, a heading which may cover anything from a girl's fancy in matters matrimonial to the gravest immorality gives very little information as to the particular offense of those grouped under it. Nevertheless, it seemed well to retain the title for the sake of a certain indicative value it has. Usually the culminating offense, theft or arson or indecorous conduct or whatever it may be, is the occasion rather than the cause of the arrest. Almost invariably the term denotes that the girl has been running wild, that she has either gone badly astray or is in serious danger of doing so, and that her arrest and sentence are due to the general tendency of her life more than to any one definite act.

"Miscellaneous" is likewise a noncommittal term, covering a wide range of offenses. In a few instances it is used for cases of moral delinquency, as when a mother neglects without abusing her children. If she abused them, it might be an assault, but when she merely fails to care for them, the offense is not so definitely classed. More often, however, the term indicates some violation of a minor city ordinance. When a thrifty boarding-house keeper serves oleo or butterine to her guests without notifying them of the nature of the compound; when an anxious mother keeps her child out of school "because she is so sensitive and the teacher won't make allowances for her peculiar disposition;" when a householder insists on watering down her sidewalk at 11 in the morning, or when a woman whose license permits her to board two babies is found to be harboring eight—in these and similar cases, under what possible heading but miscellaneous can the offenses be classed? As a general rule the term indicates some act not necessarily wrong or harmful in itself, but made so by the exigencies of community life.

CHAPTER II.

STATISTICS OF OFFENDERS STUDIED.

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INTRODUCTION.

Although this study is primarily concerned with the industrial condition of female offenders, some attention may well be given to other points. Age, education, conjugal condition, and race all have a bearing on criminality. The kind of offense committed is perhaps one of the most important considerations. It will be shown, hereafter, that the great majority of these offenders are guilty of misdemeanors rather than crimes. Violations of city ordinances, intoxication, disorderly conduct, petty larceny—these are not offenses indicating grave criminality. Some of them may indicate much degradation of character, and they cause annoyance and expense out of all proportion to their innate seriousness, but they do not constitute dangerous attacks upon the public welfare. A generation ago many of them would not have been classed as legal offenses at all. The offenses against the person were largely trivial in character, 92 out of 147 being petty assaults. The serious offenders of all classes, numbering 274, form but 8.4 per cent of the whole number under consideration.

AGE AND OFFENSE.

The following table shows the distribution by offenses and by age groups:

DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENDERS BY AGE PERIODS AND OFFENSES.

Age group.	Minor offenses against property.	Serious offenses against property.	Minor offenses against chastity.	Serious offenses against chastity.	Offenses against the person.	Miscellaneous offenses.	Incorrigibility.	Intoxication.	Disorderly conduct.	Total.	
										Number.	Per cent.
15 to 19 years.....	115	21	114	5	13	11	197	13	33	522	16.2
20 to 24 years.....	141	53	178	16	31	27	2	69	99	616	19.1
25 to 29 years.....	71	34	109	21	20	20	.....	131	86	492	15.2
30 to 34 years.....	50	17	52	17	16	25	.....	163	77	417	12.9
35 to 39 years.....	38	9	43	15	23	18	.....	185	85	416	12.9
40 to 44 years.....	21	4	24	1	21	17	.....	155	57	300	9.3
45 to 49 years.....	13	1	15	4	8	11	.....	118	41	211	6.6
50 to 54 years.....	7	1	4	.....	3	2	.....	73	36	126	3.9
55 to 59 years.....	2	.....	6	.....	5	2	.....	33	15	63	1.9
60 and over.....	3	.....	8	.....	7	5	.....	33	10	66	2.0
Total.....	461	140	553	79	147	138	199	973	539	3,229	100.0

It will be seen that the age grouping differs a little from that usually regarded as typical. "The tendency to commit crime," says one criminologist, "is largely a question of age. The criminal age is from 15 to 30." This does not seem entirely accurate as applied to these female offenders, whose alignment on either side of 30 years is curiously even, the excess of those below this age being only 31. In proportion to their representation in the population, there seems a slight excess of the older offenders. The proportion of the whole female population between 20 and 30 years old is 18.6 per cent;[a] the proportion of the offenders found in this age group is 34.3 per cent, not far from twice the proper relative number. But in the age period from 30 to 40 years, which contains 13.5 per cent of the whole female population, 25.7 per cent of the offenders are found, an excess over their proper proportion somewhat larger than in the preceding group. Above 40, the numbers committed diminish rapidly.

The different offenses show some interesting variations in regard to age. Of course, all those committed as incorrigible are young; if they were not they would have been committed under some other term. It is natural that the greater number of those convicted of offenses against chastity should be young, but the proportion of younger women sentenced for serious offenses against property is rather unexpectedly large. It emphasizes the fact that there can scarcely be said to exist among women a class of professional thieves following dishonesty year after year as a deliberate course. There are a few of these, it is true, and they are so daring, so clever, and so persistent that they make themselves felt far more than their numbers warrant, but for the most part the woman thief is not a professional. If she is an accidental or an occasional offender, ordinarily it will be found either that her offense is shoplifting or that she is a domestic servant. In the first case she may be a woman of any position in life, the tendency to pick up something in a shop seeming to be too strong, once in a while, for women of otherwise excellent character. If she is a servant, she has probably fallen a victim to the temptations to dishonesty which are so abundant in the course of her daily work. But if she is an habitual instead of an occasional offender, theft is apt to be only an incident in an immoral life, and she probably steals either from some man who is temporarily in her company or for someone with whom she has formed a more or less permanent alliance. Only occasionally will one be found who undertakes to steal intelligently or purposefully, who keeps it up year after year and acquires skill and intelligence which make her a criminal to be reckoned with;

[a] Twelfth Census, Population, 1900, Part II, p. xlix.

and who, thus following it for years, will be classed, if detected, among the older offenders.

In intemperance and its allied offenses there is a sudden change in age grouping. Less than one-fourth of those sentenced for drunkenness are under 30. In the age group 30 to 40, which contains 13.5 per cent of the whole female population, 35.7 per cent of these offenders are found, or nearly three times their proportionate number. In the next decade, where 9.7 per cent of the female population is found, there are 28 per cent of the offenders of this kind, or again about three times what might naturally be expected. It is evident that intemperance is distinctly a failing of the elder women, and wherever it is looked upon as a serious offense and punished strictly the age of female offenders will be found to average higher than elsewhere.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS.

The following table shows what could be learned concerning the educational attainments of the women studied:

LITERACY OF OFFENDERS.

	Number.	Per cent.
Can read and write	2,579	79.87
Can read but not write	16	.49
Can neither read nor write	577	17.87
Unknown	57	1.77
Total	3,229	100.00

This is a point on which prison records give little information. As a rule they merely indicate whether the prisoner can read and write, construing these terms liberally. If a woman can produce some hieroglyphics which bear a distant resemblance to her name, and can spell out a few words, she is put down as able to read and write, or as having a good education, according to the form employed by the particular institution in which she finds herself. Something over three-fourths of the women studied claimed this ability. In many cases the claim could not have been successfully maintained. A few were found who had received a grammar-school education, a small number had entered the high school, and a still smaller number had graduated from it. Two or three were found who had attended a normal school or a business college. College graduates or college students were absolutely lacking. On the whole, the woman with any education was a rarity; the ordinary offender had only a smattering of the common branches and a large proportion had not even that.

CONJUGAL CONDITION.

The following table shows the conjugal condition of the women studied:

CONJUGAL CONDITION OF WOMEN STUDIED.

Conjugal condition.	Number.	Per cent.
Single	1,256	38.90
Married	1,495	46.30
Widowed	344	10.65
Separated or divorced	134	4.15
Total	3,229	100.00

It will be seen that a trifle over three-fifths are or have been married. It is not safe to use the figures for widowed and separated as indicating much more than the fact of a previous marriage, for in many cases both the women and the officials use language with considerable freedom. More than once some official, describing some one registered as a widow, would remark incidentally:

"Her husband is no account at all."

"But I thought you said she was a widow?"

"Well, she is, just about; he's away all the time."

In regard to separation, the limits were even more vaguely defined.

"You never saw anything like the moral standards among these people," explained one official in a community not notoriously evil. "Husbands and wives live together a while and then one or the other will go off with somebody else. Usually the one who's left takes up with somebody else, and then all at once you'll find the original couple back together again, neither seeming to think that there's been anything out of the way in the whole affair." Naturally, where the marital relation sits so lightly, there is difficulty in determining whether a given couple are separated, or whether the wife has been deserted, or whether they are merely temporarily living apart. When a divorce had been secured, the official records usually showed the facts, or else the officials were cognizant of it, but such cases were rare, and all that one could usually be sure of was that the women had once been married.

Accepting the table with this limitation, it will be seen that the single furnish something over their due share of offenders. Of the total female population over fifteen years, 31.2 per cent [a] are single, while the proportion of single offenders is 38.9 per cent. In view of the fact that fully half the offenders are under 30, and that the largest number of unmarried women is found among those below this age, the showing is not unfavorable to the single. Marriage does not, however, seem to exercise the same steadying influence on women as on men, among whom the proportion of single offenders is far larger.

[a] Twelfth Census, Population, 1900, Part II, p. lxxxi.

In part this difference between the sexes is probably due to the difference in their attitude toward marriage. A man who has deserted his family is apt to describe himself as single, while a woman, no matter how entirely she may have repudiated her responsibilities as a wife, is almost certain to claim what she regards as the more dignified position of a married woman.

The following shows the distribution of the single and married offenders according to the offense committed:

DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENDERS, BY OFFENSE AND CONJUGAL CONDITION.

NUMBER.

Conjugal condition.	Minor offenses against property.	Serious offenses against property.	Minor offenses against chastity.	Serious offenses against chastity.	Offenses against the person.	Miscellaneous offenses.	Incorrigibility.	Intoxication.	Disorderly conduct.	Total.
Single	224	63	303	15	27	42	190	223	169	1,256
Married	182	60	192	61	93	75	7	520	305	1,495
Widowed	33	11	33	1	25	15	2	164	60	344
Separated or divorced	22	6	25	2	2	6	.....	66	5	134
Total	461	140	553	79	147	138	199	973	539	3,229

PER CENT.

Single	48.59	45.00	54.79	18.99	18.36	30.43	95.48	22.92	31.35	38.90
Married, widowed, etc	51.41	55.00	45.21	81.01	81.64	69.57	4.52	77.08	68.65	61.10
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

It will be seen that the ratio of married to unmarried offenders varies considerably according to the offense.

One would naturally expect to find more of the minor offenses against chastity among the unmarried. Of the serious offenses of this nature, two, adultery and bigamy or polygamy, can be committed only by the married, so that here their proportion mounts rapidly. Among those committed for drunkenness and its closely allied offense, disorderly conduct, we find the married furnishing considerably more than their share. The fact that drinking is a vice of the older women probably has something to do with the preponderance of the married here. It will be observed that single women make a good showing in regard to this offense—intoxication—supplying only a little more than two-thirds of their proportionate number.

Just why married women should be responsible for such an excessive proportion of the offenses against the person is not apparent. Possibly an explanation may be found in the fact that the majority of these offenses occur during neighborhood quarrels. Everyone knows how likely children are in the crowded conditions of tenement life to become sources of friction, and it is quite possible that many

of these assaults are due to a mother's desire to take up arms in defense of her brood. Some of the others are accounted for by drunken quarrels, which again would be likely to occur where the most drinking is found, among the married women. On the whole, it may be said that while among men the married seem much less likely to come into conflict with the law than the single, no strongly marked difference of this kind is observable among women. The unmarried furnish a slight excess over their proportionate number, but this comes from among the younger women, and as the years go on the married come to the front.

NATIVITY AND OFFENSE.

The recorded information concerning race and nativity was decidedly unsatisfactory, rarely giving more than the delinquent's birthplace. The following table gives the nativity of the offender, according to the offense committed:

DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENDERS, BY NATIVITY AND OFFENSE.

Nativity and language.	Minor offenses against property.	Serious offenses against property.	Minor offenses against chastity.	Serious offenses against chastity.	Offenses against the person.	Miscellaneous offenses.	Incorrigibility.	Intoxication.	Disorderly conduct.	Total.
Foreign-born (English-speaking)	42	14	45	10	13	28	4	361	147	664
Foreign-born (non-English-speaking)	71	25	49	20	31	13	20	40	45	314
Foreign-born (language unrecorded)	16	1	23	10	1	4	13	77	6	151
Total foreign-born	129	40	117	40	45	45	37	478	198	1,129
Native-born (Whites)	193	45	330	31	61	65	130	451	219	1,525
Native-born (Negroes and Indians)	138	55	103	8	41	28	27	43	121	564
Native-born (race unrecorded)	1	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	5	1	1	11
Total native-born	332	100	436	39	102	93	162	495	341	2,100

This table of course affords no indication of the relative tendency of foreign and native born women to disregard the laws, since it does not show from how large a group the offenders of each class are drawn. It is given merely to show the facts as to these particular lawbreakers, but does not permit any comparison between groups.

OCCUPATION AND OFFENSE.

From the standpoint of this investigation the occupations of female offenders are of chief importance. Since the special purpose was to find how far the newer occupations might be responsible for the transgressions of women, the following table was arranged to show how many came from the traditional field of women and how many from the newer employments.

DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENDERS, BY OCCUPATION AND OFFENSE.

Occupation.	Minor offenses against property.	Serious offenses against property.	Minor offenses against chastity.	Serious offenses against chastity.	Offenses against the person.	Miscellaneous offenses.	Incorrigibility.	Intoxication.	Disorderly conduct.	Total.
Domestic pursuits:										
At home	12	1	19	1	.....	1	70	12	7	123
Keeping boarders	1	18	.....	1	.....	3	.....	1	.....	24
Keeping house	92	.....	71	34	57	57	1	322	126	760
Miscellaneous	3	.....	1	1	1	1	.....	.....	.....	7
Total	108	19	91	37	58	62	71	335	133	914
Domestic or personal service:										
Cooks	6	1	5	.....	1	5	.....	20	5	43
Day workers	8	2	3	2	4	6	1	32	4	62
Domestics in private families	185	72	185	22	51	38	41	327	255	1,176
Domestics in hotels or restaurants	17	4	30	2	1	1	3	13	4	75
Hairdressers and manicurists	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	3
Laundresses	20	6	17	1	5	2	5	27	16	99
Nurses	3	1	1	1	[a]3	1	.....	5	.....	15
Seamstresses	6	3	13	2	1	2	1	6	6	40
Waitresses	3	1	6	.....	.....	1	2	11	.....	24
Total	248	91	260	30	66	58	53	441	290	1,537
Housework [c]	3	.....	41	.....	8	.....	.....	47	56	155
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits:										
Candy makers	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	1	2	.....	5
Garment makers	.....	2	4	1	2	.....	1	2	1	13
Milliners	.....	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	5
In paper mills	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	1	5
In shoe factories	1	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	7	17	.....	33
In silk mills	4	.....	.....	1	1	1	.....	.....	23	30
In tobacco factories	3	2	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2	11
In woolen and cotton mills	5	.....	20	6	1	1	16	48	.....	97
In miscellaneous shops and factories	16	2	23	.....	1	3	20	17	6	88
Total	30	8	62	8	6	5	45	90	33	287
In stores and offices:										
Bookkeepers	5	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	1	9
Cash girls	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	3
Cashiers	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3
Clerks	7	1	4	.....	.....	.....	2	1	1	16
Demonstrators	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	2
Proprietors	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	2	.....	1	.....	4
Saleswomen	11	2	4	.....	.....	.....	1	1	.....	19
Stenographers	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Telephone operators	1	.....	3	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5
Others [d]	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	3
Total	27	5	14	1	.....	3	6	7	2	65
Professional:										
Actresses, etc	4	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7
Doctors	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Musicians	1	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	5
Total	5	1	4	.....	1	.....	.....	2	.....	13
None or illegal	40	16	81	3	8	10	16	51	4	229
Unknown	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	21	29
Grand total	461	140	553	79	147	138	199	973	539	3,229

[a] Includes 2 midwives.
[b] Masseuse.
[c] Not known whether work was done in own home, or for wages.
[d] 1 canvasser, 1 peddler, 1 street seller of newspapers.

In this table all are considered as following the traditional pursuits of women who are living at home, keeping house or taking boarders, or carrying on some domestic industry. Several such industries were found in country districts, where women were weaving rag carpets, or making baskets, or following some other occupation forgotten in most places and not yet introduced in these regions as a part of the arts and crafts movement.

Then, of those who are working outside of their homes, all forms of household service ould certainly belong to the traditional field of women, and so would nursing and sewing. Laundry work is included here, since it was difficult to learn in every case whether a prisoner who described herself as a laundress was employed in a laundry or went out as a washerwoman, and also because even hen carried on in large establishments the occupation is still one which has always been open to women and which has not shared proportionately in the increase in the number of working women of late years.

Those who are classed as "At home" are usually young girls who are still living with their parents, and who have never taken up any outside pursuit. In a few instances they are mature women living with relatives. In both cases it is probable that they help about the housework, but it can not be said that they are earning their living.

"Keeping house" means that a woman's time was mainly occupied with the care of her own household. She might perhaps go out occasionally to work, or bring in a washing now and then, but if she followed either pursuit as a regular thing, she was classed as a day worker, or laundress, or cook, as the case might be.

Under the heading "Housework" are classed those concerning whom it was impossible to learn whether their time went mainly to their own or to other people's housework.

"Why, how can I tell?" asked one harassed official who was pressed for more definite information on this point. "Sometimes it is one way and sometimes the other. When she and her husband live together she keeps house, but when they quarrel she goes out to work. And they quarrel pretty often. Last time she was arrested she was keeping house, but when she got out after serving her sentence she took a place as a servant, and she has changed back and forth two or three times since then."

Accepting these classifications, the table shows that a surprisingly large proportion of offenders come either from their own homes or from the pursuits which women have followed from time immemorial. Summarized, it stands thus:

OFFENDERS FOLLOWING TRADITIONAL AND NEWER PURSUITS.

Class of pursuits.	Number.	Per cent.
Traditional:		
Within own home	914	28.31
Outside own home	1,692	52.40
Total	2,606	80.71
Newer pursuits:		
In factories or shops	287	8.89
In trade or transportation	65	2.01
Professional	13	.40
Total	365	11.30
No occupation, or illegal	229	7.09
Unknown	29	.90
Grand total	3,229	100.00

At first glance the above table seems to make a remarkably good showing for the newer pursuits. It is rather striking to find that the number coming directly from their own homes is more than twice as large as from all the newer pursuits put together. However, such a comparison really shows nothing at all until the numbers engaged in the occupations from which these offenders come are known. To get any idea of the part played by occupations in connection with delinquency, it is necessary to rearrange the table so as to permit a comparison with the census figures concerning women at work. This involves omitting all except those who work for wages. Those who are living at home, the women who are keeping their own houses and those who have no lawful occupation, must all be dropped. The 155 who are put down as engaged in "Housework" must be omitted also, since it is impossible to say whether they are gainfully employed or not. The seamstresses must be transferred to the manufacturing group, and the domestic workers combined. Thus recast, the table stands:

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF DELINQUENT WOMEN FROM CERTAIN PURSUITS, AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL WOMEN WAGE-EARNERS ENGAGED IN SAME PURSUITS.

Occupation.	Delinquents.		Per cent of total women wage-earners 16 years and over engaged in occupation.[a]
	Number.	Per cent.	
Domestic and personal service:			
Boardinghouse keepers	24	1.22	1.2
Hairdressers and manicurists	3	.15	.....
Laundresses	99	5.05	6.8
Nurses and midwives	15	.76	2.2
Servants and waiters	1,380	70.34	24.1
Total in domestic and personal service	1,521	77.52	40.4
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	327	16.67	24.8
Miscellaneous [b]	7	.36	.....
Professional	13	.66	8.9
Trade and transportation	65	3.31	10.0
Unknown	29	1.48	.....
Total	1,962	100.00	.....

[a] Twelfth Census, Statistics of Women at Work, 1900, p. 32.
[b] These workers were so scattered that comparison with the census figures is difficult.

It is at once apparent from this table that by far the largest proportion of offenders comes from the group engaged in domestic and personal service, and that the only subdivision under this general head furnishing more than its proportionate share of misdemeanants or criminals is that of servants and waiters. Were it not for these, the group would furnish not quite its share of offenders, but these workers, constituting 24.1 per cent of the breadwinners, account for 70.3 per cent of the offenders, or very nearly three times their proper share.

These figures become still more striking by comparison with those for the women engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. This latter group includes all the mill and factory hands, the garment and flower makers, the workers in fur and feathers, all the overworked and underpaid members of the sweated trades. It contains 24.8 per cent of all the female workers over 16, or just a trifle more than are engaged as servants and waiters, yet it furnishes but 16.67 per cent of the offenders against 70.34 per cent from the group of servants and waiters. That is, with practically the same number in each group, the servants and waitresses furnish more than four times as many offenders as those engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.

The women engaged in trade and transportation make an even better showing than their sisters of the factories and the mills. In 1900 they constituted 10 per cent of all the women gainfully employed, but they supply only 3.31 per cent of the group of offenders, which is practically one-third of their proportionate representation. This group includes the cash girls, bookkeepers, clerks, saleswomen, stenographers, and telephone operators. It is here that the most rapid increase is taking place in the number of women employed. Here, too, is found the largest proportion of young women between 16 and 24, the age when the character is forming and when a girl might be expected to yield most easily to adverse influences, the crime age, according to some authorities. In this group it is necessary for a girl to make a good appearance, no matter how small her wages. Here as cash girl, bundle girl, or saleswoman, she has always before her eyes and within temptingly easy reach of her fingers ribbons and beads and a hundred and one pretty trinkets dear to the heart of girlhood. Here as bookkeeper or cashier she has endless opportunities for embezzlement or petty peculations. As stenographer she is thrown into close relations with employers who may or may not be honorable men, as telephone girl or clerk or telegrapher she must keep all hours and meet all persons and see on every hand opportunities to go wrong so easily, so gradually, that she might well stray from the path of conventional safety before she realized that she had even stepped aside. Yet these workers furnish to the whole group of offenders studied only one-third of their proportionate representation. And this striking fact becomes more striking when it is remembered that

the investigation was carried on chiefly in industrial centers, where workers of this kind are most numerous and where their temptations are greatest.

The group is of sufficient importance to merit closer analysis. It is made up as follows:

SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS OF DELINQUENT WOMEN ENGAGED IN TRADE AND TRANSPORTATION, AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL WOMEN WAGE-EARNERS, 16 YEARS AND OVER, ENGAGED IN SAME OCCUPATIONS.

Occupation.	Delinquents.		Per cent of total women wage-earners, 16 years and over, in each occupation.
	Number.	Per cent.	
Agents, packers, and shippers	.....	.....	0.6
Bookkeepers and accountants	12	0.61	1.5
Clerks and copyists	16	.81	1.7
Merchants and dealers	4	.20	.7
Saleswomen	22	1.12	2.9
Stenographers and typewriters	1	.05	1.8
Telegraph and telephone operators	5	.26	.5
Others	5	.26	.3
Total in trade and transportation	65	3.31	10.0

It will be seen that no group of these workers furnishes its proportionate share to the group of offenders. Those classed as "Others" come nearest to it, giving 0.26 per cent instead of the 0.30 per cent which their numbers would justify. (The offenders of this group consisted of two demonstrators, one canvasser, one peddler, and one seller of newspapers.) Telephone and telegraph operators give about one-half of their proportion, while the other groups furnish still smaller fractions of their numerical representation. It will be noticed that almost all of the occupations shown here belong to the newer pursuits which have been opened to women since the introduction of the typewriter.

Turning once more to the table on page 29 it will be seen that the proportion of professional women found among the wage-earning offenders studied is so small as to be almost negligible—only 0.66 per cent—while 8.9 per cent of the total women wage-earners 16 and over are grouped as in professions.[a]

OCCUPATIONS OF OFFENDERS.

CLEVELAND, OHIO.

The results given so far are, however, open to a serious criticism. The census figures used in the comparisons are for the United States as a whole, while this investigation was confined to limited areas in which local conditions might easily modify results. More reliable conclusions can be drawn by comparing figures covering the same districts and affected by the same conditions. In the city of Cleve-

[a] Twelfth Census, Statistics of Women at Work, 1900, p. 32.

land, Ohio, 269 women served one or more terms in the house of correction during the year ending July 1, 1908. Of these, 34 had no legitimate occupation, 70 were keeping house, and 41 were described as doing housework, sometimes in their own, sometimes in other people's houses. Excluding all these as not being engaged in any gainful pursuit (for it was impossible to learn whether the last-mentioned group were working for themselves or for others at the time of committing their offense), and arranging the others according to the census classification, we have the following table:

OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALE DELINQUENTS GAINFULLY EMPLOYED IN CLEVELAND OHIO, AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL FEMALE WAGE-EARNERS OF CITY IN SAME OCCUPATION.

Occupation.	Delinquents.		Percentage of total female wage-earners, 16 years and over, in specified occupations.[a]
	Number.	Per cent.	
Domestic and personal service:			
Laundresses	2	1.6	4.9
Nurses and midwives	1	.8	3.1
Servants and waitresses	107	86.3	24.9
Total in domestic and personal service	110	88.7	38.6
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits:			
Milliners	1	.8	2.6
Seamstresses and dressmakers	10	8.1	14.9
Tailoresses	1	.8	4.6
Total in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	12	9.7	32.3
Trade and transportation:			
Bookkeeper	1	.8	2.9
Telephone operator	1	.8	1.2
Total in trade and transportation	2	1.6	20.4

[a] Calculated from Table 43, Twelfth Census, Occupations, 1900, pp. 480 ff.

It will be noticed that the women engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits give considerably under one-third of their proportionate share to this group of offenders. It is rather curious to find that while nearly one-third of all the gainfully employed women 16 and over in Cleveland are engaged in these pursuits, the only ones who brought themselves within reach of the law were found in such traditionally feminine pursuits as millinery, dressmaking, and the like, while the mill hands and factory workers are totally unrepresented. Those engaged in trade and transportation make a remarkably good showing. It is a striking fact that of 1,707 saleswomen and 1,380 stenographers and typewriters 16 years old and over, not one found her way into the house of correction, and that this whole group of newer occupations furnishes less than one-tenth of its proportionate share of the list of offenders. On the other hand, the servants and waitresses do not make as good a showing here as in the more general tables. Practically one-fourth of the working women of Cleveland (24.9 per cent) are found in this group, but

something over four-fifths (86.3 per cent) of the gainfully employed offenders came from its ranks. This disproportion is the more striking since it does not appear among the women engaged in somewhat similar occupations grouped with this. Thus, laundresses furnish only one-third, and nurses an even smaller share of their proportionate representation.

Local conditions in Cleveland, however, may have something to do with these results. Many of the manufactures carried on there are of a kind in which women can not be employed, so their representation in the field of manufacturing and mechanical pursuits may be unduly reduced, and this reduction might have considerable influence in limiting the number who appear as misdemeanants or criminals. A city of a different character might give different results.

PATERSON, N. J.

Paterson, N. J., is known far and wide for its silk manufactures, an industry peculiarly adapted to women. It employs a large proportion of young women, 63.4 per cent of those over 16 engaged in it being in the age group 16 to 24. Also in Paterson the proportion of women engaged in domestic service is smaller than in the country as a whole, and much smaller than the proportion engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, so that for these two great occupation groups the situation found in Cleveland is reversed.

In Paterson during the year ending March 1, 1908, 196 women served one or more terms apiece in the county prison. Of these, 112 belonged to the classes not considered in the census as having any gainful pursuit. The remaining 84 were thus distributed among the occupation groups:

OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALE DELINQUENTS GAINFULLY EMPLOYED IN PATERSON N. J., AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL WOMEN WAGE-EARNERS OF CITY IN SAME OCCUPATIONS.

Occupations.	Delinquents.		Percentage of total female wage-earners, 16 years and over, in specified occupations.[a]
	Number.	Per cent.	
Domestic and personal service:			
Laundresses	2	2.4	2.0
Servants and waitresses	52	61.9	10.8
Total in domestic and personal service	54	64.3	17.8
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits:			
Seamstresses and dressmakers	1	1.2	5.9
Silk-mill operatives	28	33.3	48.5
Total in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	29	34.5	69.3
Trade and transportation:			
Bookkeeper	1	1.2	1.4
Total in trade and transportation	1	1.2	8.3

[a] Calculated from Table 43 Twelfth Census, Occupations, 1900, pp. 480 et seq.

The results shown by this table are pronounced. It is to say the least unexpected that in this mill town, where those engaged in domestic and personal service form only 17.8 per cent of the working female population, they should furnish over 60 per cent of this group of offenders, which is considerably over three times their proportion. Among the group of servants and waitresses, the situation is still more marked; although they form practically but one-tenth of the working female population, they furnish about six-tenths of the offenders having gainful occupations. On the other hand, those engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits give just half their proportionate number of offenders, while the silk-mill operatives furnish a trifle over two-thirds of their proportionate share. Those engaged in trade and transportation furnish about one-seventh of their numerical representation.

The great disproportion of servants and waitresses does not seem explicable on grounds of nationality or race; the proportion of native whites with native-born parents is almost exactly the same among them as among the silk-mill operatives (14.5 per cent for servants and waitresses, against 14.4 per cent for the silk workers), and while their proportion of foreign-born is larger, their proportion of native born with foreign-born parents is smaller than is the case among the women in the silk mills.[a] Nor does the age composition of the two groups afford an explanation of the difference, since among the servants only 44.7 per cent are between 16 and 24, while among the silk-mill operatives 63.4 per cent are in this age period.[b]

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

It may be worth while to examine still another city, differing in character from the two considered. In Rochester, N. Y., during the year ending March 1, 1908, 82 different women served terms in the county penitentiary, 15 were sent to other places of confinement, and 24 kept on probation. (A larger number were placed on probation, but those who failed to keep its terms and were therefore committed to some place of confinement have been counted with its inmates.) Of these 121 women, 74 were following gainful pursuits. Grouping them as before, we have these results:

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[a] Twelfth Census, Statistics of Women at Work, 1900, pp. 278–280.
[b] Twelfth Census, Occupations, 1900, p. 668.

OCCUPATIONS OF ROCHESTER, N. Y., FEMALE DELINQUENTS GAINFULLY EMPLOYED AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL WOMEN WAGE-EARNERS OF CITY IN SAME OCCUPATIONS.

Occupations.	Delinquents.		Percentage of total female wage-earners 16 years and over, in specified occupations.[a]
	Number.	Per cent.	
Domestic and personal serivice:			
Laundresses	2	2.7	3.1
Servants and waitresses	64	86.5	17.4
Total in domestic and personal service	66	89.2	27.4
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits:			
Factory operatives	5	6.8	.....
Tailoresses	1	1.3	13.4
Total in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	6	8.1	46.5
Trade and transportation:			
Clerk	1	1.4	4.0
Keeping retail store	1	1.4	.7
Total in trade and transportation	2	2.7	17.1

[a] Calculated from Table 43, Twelfth Census, Occupations, 1900, pp. 480 et seq.

It will be noticed that here the proportion of the gainfully employed women working as servants and waitresses is almost exactly the same as the proportion engaged in trade and transportation, yet the former group furnishes 86.5 per cent of the offenders having some gainful pursuit as against 2.7 per cent from the latter. In other words, the servants and waitresses give five times their proportionate number, while the women engaged in trade and transportation give less than one-sixth of their share. More than twice as many women are engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits as are employed as servants and waitresses, yet not quite one-tenth as many of this group of offenders came from their ranks. While furnishing 46.5 per cent of the city's working women, they supplied only 8.1 per cent of the misdemeanants and criminals, or less than one-fifth of their proportionate representation.

Conclusions drawn from single communities, however, may be looked upon as unsatisfactory, since it is possible that local factors affect them strongly. Each of the cities thus far considered has some conditions peculiar to itself which might influence the results obtained. In Rochester, for instance, while the number of women engaged in manufacture and allied industries is large, their general character may be modified by special conditions not felt in the industrial world as a whole. Rochester people are rather apt to claim that their mills and factories are unusually well managed, that social secretaries and welfare workers succeed in establishing relations of trust and friendship with the employees, and that proprietors, managers, social workers, and operatives unite in an effort to maintain good conditions and to develop increasingly high standards of conduct and

living. Of course, such an effort would account to some extent for the very good showing the factory workers make, and in order to avoid any such disturbing influences it may be well to examine the offenders from a larger but still limited area.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Massachusetts is one of the leading manufacturing States. Only 4 States, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Ohio, surpass it in the actual number of women employed. Only 3 States, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Rhode Island, surpass it in the percentage of women at work. It is also a State in which laws are numerous and vigorously enforced, and in which public records are carefully kept, for all of which reasons it should be possible, if occupational tendencies to wrongdoing exist, to find them here. The comparison can not be made as complete as for some of the smaller divisions, since the figures of this investigation for Massachusetts do not cover all the women who served sentences within a year. They represent only the women who, having been sentenced within the current year, were found either in confinement or on probation at the time of the agent's visit to each locality. The total number thus found was 923, which is about one-third of the number annually sentenced in the State. Of these, 579, or 62.7 per cent, were following gainful pursuits, and a study of their distribution gives the following results:

OCCUPATIONS OF MASSACHUSETTS FEMALE DELINQUENTS GAINFULLY EMPLOYED, AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL WOMEN WAGE-EARNERS OF STATE IN SAME OCCUPATIONS.

Occupation.	Delinquents.		Percentage of total female wage-earners, 16 years and over, in specified occupations.[a]
	Number.	Per cent.	
Domestic and personal service:			
Keeping boarders	6	1.0	1.3
Laundresses	33	5.7	2.8
Nurses	2	.4	2.8
Servants and waitresses	348	60.1	21.6
Total in domestic and personal service	389	67.2	32.9
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits:			
Dressmakers, milliners, and seamstresses	8	1.4	9.5
Shoe-factory workers	33	5.7	5.1
Textile-mill workers	95	16.4	18.2
Other manufacturing occupations	33	5.7	.....
Total in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	169	29.2	45.3
Trade and transportation:			
Bookkeepers and accountants	1	.2	3.5
Saleswomen	6	1.0	3.6
Various[b]	5	.9	.....
Total in trade and transportation	12	2.1	13.8
All other occupations[b]	9	1.5	.....

[a] Calculated from Table 41, Twelfth Census, Occupations, 1900, pp. 304-307.
[b] These workers were so scattered that comparison with the census figures is difficult.

The distribution shown here approximates rather closely that shown in the table of offenders from all localities.[a] Here, as there, those engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits furnish about two-thirds of their proportionate number. The shoe workers alone show a slight excess, the textile-mill workers do not quite furnish their full proportion, while the dressmakers, milliners, and seamstresses give only about one-seventh of their numerical representation.

Those engaged in trade and transportation furnish less than one-sixth of their proportionate number of offenders. Saleswomen give the largest number of wrongdoers here, yet they show less than one-third of their numerical proportion. It is worthy of note that not a single stenographer or telegraph or telephone operator was found under sentence. While the investigation was in progress, one telephone operator was arrested and held for trial. Undoubtedly workers of this group must be brought into court from time to time, but apparently such cases are rare.

Among those engaged in domestic and personal service, the ratios do not differ widely from those found in the general table. Constituting 32.9 per cent of the women gainfully employed, they furnish 67.2 per cent of the group of offenders, or something over twice their proportionate number. The great majority of these wrongdoers come from the servants and waitresses, who form a trifle over one-fifth of the gainfully employed women, but furnish three-fifths of the misdemeanants and criminals. While nearly 60,000 women employed in the textile mills furnish only 16.4 per cent of these offenders, nearly 70,000 engaged as servants and waitresses give 60.1 per cent. Those engaged in trade and transportation are nearly two-thirds as many as the servants and waitresses, yet they furnish only one twenty-ninth as many offenders.

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[a] See p. 29.

CHAPTER III.

EARLIEST OCCUPATIONS OF OFFENDERS.

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INTRODUCTION.

The statistics discussed in the preceding chapter show that by far the greater number of women gainfully employed who had reached the prisons and penitentiaries came there from the pursuits which have for generations been recognized as peculiarly woman's work, and that the newer industries opened to them in the last thirty years furnish very much less than their proportion. Wherever the occupational distribution of these offenders is studied, whether as an undivided group, in single cities under varying industrial conditions, or in one of the largest manufacturing States of the Union, the general situation is found to be the same; the wage-earning domestic pursuits give far more, the manufacturing and commercial pursuits far less, than their proportion of offenders. From place to place the relative proportions vary slightly, but the fact remains unchanged. What reason can be assigned for such a marked and general preponderance of the domestic workers?

Those who have dealt practically with female offenders have an answer which will be referred to later. Those who have considered the question theoretically have an entirely different one. "This excess of domestic workers," they say in effect, "is in reality nonexistent. It appears to exist only because of a sensitiveness on the part of women offenders as to their past. When a woman of any intelligence or cultivation goes wrong, her first misstep is usually a moral rather than a legal offense. The more sense of social values she has, the more ashamed she is of this and the more anxious to hide it. The easiest way to avoid observation and to conceal the fact of her former position is to call herself a domestic worker. There is no question that many of those who thus describe themselves came originally from occupations of a much higher grade. They may at the present time be domestics, but they began their industrial life in some other occupation to which the blame for their downfall ought in fairness to be ascribed."

It may be remarked in passing that throughout this investigation the whole tendency of the women examined seemed to be the other way. If they had ever held any position implying education or

intelligence or social standing, they claimed it strenuously, even though their stay in it had been of the briefest. Indeed, they were inclined to stretch the facts to give themselves the credit of having been workers of what they considered higher grades. The sage femme would claim to be a doctor, the neighborhood helper in sickness would call herself a trained nurse, the girl who had worked in the mills for three years and then for a month held a position in a retail store invariably described herself as a saleswoman, and so on. Not an instance was found of a woman trying to hide some past downfall by assigning herself to a lower grade than the highest she had ever held.

Notwithstanding this experimental contradiction of the theory, it seemed reasonable that there might be women who wished to hide their past, and who might, with this purpose in view, class themselves as domestic workers. It also seemed highly probable that if a woman engaged in some of the higher grades of work began going down hill she would soon find it impossible to get or hold any of the socially more desirable positions, and would be compelled to drop either into domestic service or some low-grade occupation.

EARLIEST AND LATEST OCCUPATIONS OF SPECIFIED OFFENDERS.

For the sake of finding, if possible, how far these conditions might be effective in changing the general results, a study was made of the industrial history of a number of women, and from the information thus gained the following table was drawn up:

EARLIEST OCCUPATION AND OCCUPATION AT TIME OF LATEST ARREST OF 627 FEMALE DELINQUENTS.

Occupation at time of latest arrest.	Number whose earliest occupation was—								Total number.
	Domestic and personal service.	Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.	Trade and transportation.	Professional.	All other gainful pursuits.	At home.	Keeping house.	None.	
Domestic and personal service:									
Boardinghouse keepers	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	6
Laundresses	20	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	21
Nurses	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	3
Servants	126	22	2	.....	4	.....	13	.....	167
Waitresses	9	4	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	15
Total	158	27	4	.....	4	.....	19	.....	212
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits:									
Factories (not otherwise specified)	1	37	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	41
Sewing trades	1	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	11
Shoe factories	3	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13
Textile mills	2	32	1	.....	.....	.....	5	.....	40
Total	7	88	4	.....	.....	.....	5	1	105

EARLIEST OCCUPATION AND OCCUPATION AT TIME OF LATEST ARREST OF 627 FEMALE DELINQUENTS—Concluded.

Occupation at time of latest arrest.	Number whose earliest occupation was—								Total number.
	Domestic and personal service.	Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.	Trade and transportation.	Professional.	All other gainful pursuits.	At home.	Keeping house.	None.	
Trade and transportation:									
Bookkeepers and cashiers	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4
Canvassers	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Clerks	.....	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4
Retail trade	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Saleswomen	1	.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	4
Telephone operator	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Total	1	1	11	1	.....	.....	1	.....	15
All other gainful pursuits	1	1	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....	5
At home	4	6	1	.....	.....	57	2	.....	70
Keeping house	36	16	6	1	4	.....	47	.....	110
No lawful occupation	40	27	11	.....	2	17	10	3	110
Total	247	166	38	2	11	74	85	4	627

The first column of this table shows the occupation pursued at the time of the latest arrest, while the following columns show the earliest occupation. The census distinction between gainful and nongainful pursuits has here been ignored, and all women included whether or not they were working for wages.

Those whose earliest occupation is given as "At home" have neither had any gainful occupation nor kept house for themselves. In most instances they went wrong from their parents' homes, though in a few cases they were living with other relatives. The 4 whose earliest occupation is given as "None" were pitiful waifs. Three of them have probably never followed any honest calling. Their parents must have died or deserted them—they themselves can give no information on the point—when they were little more than babies. Apparently they drifted about from place to place, as anyone would give them shelter. Probably as little girls they ran errands and washed dishes and otherwise made themselves useful, but long before they had reached their teens those who took them in had found other means of recouping themselves, and when the girls were finally sentenced they not only had no calling, but no knowledge of any. The fourth, whose present occupation is given as "sewing trades," is now serving a second sentence. Up to the time of her first conviction her history duplicated that of the other 3. While serving her first term, she was taught to sew, and for several years after her release supported herself as a seamstress, but finally returned

to some of the devious ways of her earlier years. With these exceptions, the table needs no explanation.

It will be noticed that each of the occupation groups shows a diminution from its earliest numbers, and also a change in composition. Some have fallen out and their place has been taken in part by those from other groups. To show this more plainly, the earliest constitution of the three great occupation groups is given separately in the following table, with the present position of those who began in them. The perpendicular columns give the earliest occupation of those at present employed as shown by the horizontal classification.

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF WOMEN IN EACH SPECIFIED OCCUPATION AT TIME OF LATEST ARREST, GROUPED ACCORDING TO EARLIEST OCCUPATION.

Occupation at time of latest arrest.	Earliest occupation.					
	Domestic and personal service.		Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.		Trade and transportation.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Domestic and personal service	158	64.0	27	16.3	4	10.5
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	7	2.8	88	53.0	4	10.5
Trade and transportation	1	.4	1	.6	11	29.0
All other gainful pursuits	1	.4	1	.6	1	2.6
At home	4	1.6	6	3.6	1	2.6
Keeping house	36	14.6	16	9.6	6	15.8
No lawful occupation	40	16.2	27	16.3	11	29.0
Total	247	100.0	166	100.0	38	100.0

As we have no figures showing the changes from one occupation to another made by working women in general, this table can not be used to show the relative tendency of women offenders to pass from one occupation group to another. It does show, however, that there is no considerable tendency on the part of those who began their industrial life in the newer occupations to class themselves, contrary to fact, as domestic servants. A study of the individual women concerned shows not only that such a tendency is not considerable, but that it is absolutely nonexistent. The change of occupation had actually taken place, and in most cases the first conflict with the laws came after the earlier pursuit had been left. Thus, of the 4 women who passed from trade and transportation to domestic and personal service, 2 were young women, respectively 24 and 26 years old. Each had begun as a sales girl in a 5 and 10 cent store, had married early, and for some years lived at home. In one case the husband died, in the other the couple disagreed, and the two women found themselves again in need of a gainful pursuit. The wages which did well enough when they were young girls living at home were not sufficient for self-support

when the home was gone, but they were not capable of getting or holding positions in stores of a better class with correspondingly better wages. Domestic service was the easiest and best paying thing they could get. They entered it and each was arrested for theft from her mistress. The third had been a saleswoman in early youth, and had afterwards married and kept house for years. Later, feeling it necessary to increase the family income, she had taken boarders, which brought her within the group of those engaged in domestic or personal service, according to the census classification. As time went on she developed a taste for drink, and this brought her into conflict with the laws. The fourth, a woman of 54, came of a respectable family, who stood well in the estimation of the small community in which they lived. She served as a saleswoman for a few years, then married and kept house. As she grew older she developed a taste for liquor, and when her husband died, leaving no provision for her, she was a confirmed drunkard, incapable of holding any position demanding continuous self-control. "Day's work" marks the limit of her capacity. It will be noticed that in all these cases the clash with the law did not occur until long after the earliest pursuit had been given up, and not until some time after the latest occupation had been entered upon.

A study of the women who, beginning their life as workers in some form of manufacturing or mechanical pursuit, were found at the time of their latest arrest in some form of domestic or personal service shows somewhat similar results. There are 27 such women, who fall into two distinct groups. The first comprises nearly two-thirds of the number, women who took up some trade (with two exceptions, a dressmaker and a tailoress, they took up some form of mill or factory work), learned it, and kept at it for years. Later in life, finding themselves for some reason unable to work at this, they took up domestic service as the only thing they could get into. In 11 cases a period of married life intervened between the two occupations. Nearly always the reason for entering whatever form of domestic service they took up was a physical incapacity for going on with their former trade. Their eyes were no longer good enough for weaving, or they had grown slow, or some other defect had obliged them to give up the work they preferred.

The second and smaller group of those who made this transfer were younger women who had never learned any trade nor entered with any seriousness upon the work of self-support. Absolutely untrained, with no foresight and little capacity for self-control or sustained effort, they drifted into and out of one form after another of unskilled work. It was mere accident that they happened to begin in some form of manufacturing and mechanical pursuit and to be following,

when their arrest occurred, some form of domestic service. Had it taken place a few months earlier or later, they would probably have been found elsewhere. The aimless way in which they pass from one pursuit to another can hardly be exaggerated.

Recent investigations made into the industrial history of certain untrained girls going to work at 14, show that it is not uncommon to find a girl who has been at work for a few years who is really unable to give any coherent account of her industrial career; she has been into and out of so many places that she can not if she would tell just what they have been. Such were the girls of the second group. Their appearance in domestic service was a mere incident of their varying experiences, and had no connection whatever with any desire to hide a former loss of caste.

In brief, among the 627 women whose whole industrial history was studied, not a single instance could be found of a woman, who, having made a misstep in some higher calling, strove to hide the fact of her former position by classing herself among the domestic workers. Such cases may occur, but they do not appear to be sufficiently common to affect the general results.

TENDENCY OF OCCUPATIONAL CHANGES.

The examination does show a certain drift from other occupations toward domestic and personal service. It is one of the stations on the downhill course which ends in the morass of "No lawful occupation." But the effect of this drift in increasing the number of offenders coming from the group is offset by a greater drift from it to other groups. Thus, the table on pages 42 and 43 shows that 247 of the women studied began their industrial life in some form of domestic or personal service and that by the time of their latest arrest 35 women who had begun in some other gainful pursuit had come into this group, or 14.2 per cent of its original number. But meanwhile 89 who began in this group, or 36 per cent of its original number, had passed out to other groups. In other words, while its accessions from other gainful pursuits formed about one-seventh of its original number, its defections amounted to over one-third of that number, and the group in which 247 of these women began their industrial life showed at the time of latest arrest a membership of 212. Evidently the figures showing the number of offenders coming directly from these pursuits can not be said to be unduly weighted from other occupations.

The most significant changes are those which have taken place not between the great industrial groups, but from them into the non-gainful pursuits. The following table shows these changes in detail:

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF OFFENDERS IN EACH SPECIFIED OCCUPATION AT TIME OF LATEST ARREST AND AT EARLIEST EMPLOYMENT.

Occupation.	Offenders engaged at time of latest arrest in specified occupation.		Offenders whose earliest employment was in specified occupation.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Domestic and personal service	212	33.8	247	39.4
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	105	16.8	166	26.4
Trade and transportation	15	2.4	38	6.1
Professional	.....	.....	2	.3
All other gainful pursuits	5	.8	11	1.8
Keeping house	110	17.5	85	13.6
At home	70	11.2	74	11.8
No lawful occupation	110	17.5	4	.6
Total	627	100.0	627	100.0

It will be noticed that each of the groups of gainful occupations diminishes, and that the increase is wholly among those who are either married and keeping house, or who have no lawful pursuit. It is rather curious to find these two groups at the time of the latest arrest so exactly the same in number, but the rate of increase has of course been enormously greater for those having no occupation than for those keeping house.

EARLIEST OCCUPATIONS OF OFFENDERS HAVING NO OCCUPATION AT TIME OF LATEST ARREST.

Those having at the time of their arrest no lawful occupation form a sort of residuum of the outcasts of every other group. It comprises the women who have deliberately and intelligently preferred a life of vice; those who through drink or other wrongdoing have become incapable of steady industry; those who from mental or moral weakness have been led into an evil life without much fault of their own; an occasional waif who has never had any steady occupation; young girls just entering upon a life of vice and old crones just ending it; women who alternate periods of debauchery with periods of honest earning, and who in the former period have been caught in some open violation of the laws; in short, a motley gathering, representing a wider variety of character, antecedents, and possibilities than any other group of offenders. Here, if anywhere, we might expect to find the women of intelligence and cultivation who have gone wrong. In this particular group of such offenders its composition is as follows:

EARLIEST OCCUPATION OF 110 OFFENDERS NOW HAVING NO OCCUPATION.

Earliest occupation.	Number.	Per cent.
Domestic and personal service	40	36.4
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	27	24.5
Trade and transportation	11	10.0
All other gainful occupations	2	1.8
Keeping house	10	9.1
At home	17	15.5
None	3	2.7
Total	110	100.0

It appears from this that very nearly one-fourth of the whole number having at the time of their latest arrest no occupation had come into the group directly from their own homes, never having followed any gainful pursuits. Among those who have had an industrial career it is curious to see how fairly the three great occupational groups are represented. "Domestic and personal service," which employs 40.4 per cent of the whole working female population, furnishes 36.4 per cent of this group of outcasts, or a little under its due proportion; "Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits," comprising 24.8 per cent of the female workers, gives 24.5 per cent; while "Trade and transportation," in which 10 per cent of the women workers are engaged, gives precisely its proportional tenth. It will be remembered that in studying the occupations of women law breakers those having no legitimate pursuit were excluded, in order that a comparison with the census figures concerning women at work might be made. If this last table may be considered indicative of general conditions, each of the three great occupational divisions furnishes so nearly its proportional representation to this group that an inclusion of those who, before coming into conflict with the law, have dropped from industry to "No lawful occupation," would merely change figures without altering relative results. In other words, here is a group of something over 100 women, most of whom have at some time or other followed some gainful pursuit, and these are divided among the leading occupation groups in almost exactly the same proportion as the working female population as a whole.

CONCLUSION.

These tables concerning the first employments of offenders, covering as they do only a few over 600 cases, can not be used as conclusive evidence. They seem, however, to indicate rather clearly—

First, that no large proportion of offenders, beginning in the higher occupational groups, fall back into the ranks of domestic and personal service. There is a certain drift of this kind, which is offset by the drift away from the group into other occupations, or into a life of idleness.

Second, that the leading occupational groups contribute to the class of offenders having no legitimate occupation almost exactly their proportionate numbers.

A study of the individual cases, moreover, shows that those who pass from one occupational group to another remain for the most part upon the same industrial plane, and gives no color to the theory that any considerable number of those beginning in higher occupations seek to conceal their past by classing themselves as domestic workers.

There seems no reason, therefore, to doubt the substantial accuracy of the results obtained from the examination of the occupations of women lawbreakers in varying localities, i. e., that a disproportionate number, varying from twice to six times its representation, come from the ranks of domestic and personal service; that manufacturing and mechanical pursuits do not furnish their full share; and that from trade and transportation comes only a small fraction of the number which might fairly be expected.

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CHAPTER IV.

IS CRIMINALITY AMONG WOMEN INCREASING?

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IS CRIMINALITY AMONG WOMEN INCREASING?

INTRODUCTION.

Up to this point it has been found that wherever the facts concerning the occupations of female offenders could be obtained by far the larger number, both absolutely and relatively, have come from the traditional pursuits of womankind. The import of the figures seems unmistakable, and while the number studied is not large it gains in importance from the fact that the localities considered are those in which the newer industries open to women are most prominent. Naturally the proportion of women engaged as stenographers, bookkeepers, saleswomen, and clerks is greater in the manufacturing and commercial sections than in the country as a whole. So far as statistics indicate, it may be considered certain that if there has been any proportionate increase in the amount of criminality among women since the opening up of these newer occupations it is not due to the occupations. The prison population is not recruited from the ranks of the saleswomen, the clerks and stenographers, the packers and shippers, and telephone and telegraph operators who have increased so rapidly within the past few decades.

TESTIMONY OF OFFICIALS.

In an inquiry of this kind it is hardly safe to venture upon any assertion unfortified with figures to bear it out, or else stress might have been laid at an earlier period on the practically unanimous testimony of officials who have had to do with female offenders. One and all agreed that they had not found any increase in the number committed which could be ascribed to the entrance of women into new industrial fields. They were unanimous in saying that the women who reach the point of public arrest and conviction are mostly of the uncultivated class, women who are not really capable of holding the better positions. Usually, was the consensus of their opinions, if a woman has intelligence enough to fit herself for one of these better positions, and self-control enough to hold it, she has too much intelligence and self-control to bring herself within the grasp of the law. At every prison, workhouse, and reformatory

visited special and careful inquiry was made for saleswomen, stenographers, and bookkeepers, and workers in the newer occupations generally, and again and again in effect the same reply was received: "Why, we don't get that class of women; ours are all women who couldn't possibly hold such positions. You won't find any of that kind here."

In a few of the factory towns there was a variation in the reply. "We get mostly the girls from the unskilled branches of mill or factory work," would be the answer. "We have some skilled workers, spinners and weavers, but they are mostly older women who have married and brought up children, and have begun drinking from one cause or another. We don't get the smart workers." One matron who had had twenty years experience in prison work summed up the situation concisely: "Wherever I've been, we got the low-grade women, the women who did the hardest and poorest paid work in the community. In the last place where I was matron there weren't any factories, and there the women all came from the poorest kind of domestic service. Here there's nothing but factories, so they come from them." Yet in the next town, also a factory place, it seemed there was a lower grade possible. A certain probation officer went over his list of women in confinement or on probation, giving his experience with each and his estimate of her character and mentality. They were unskilled workers, employed in certain mills which did not have the best of reputations either for wages paid or for fairness of treatment. "These women wouldn't be wanted in the better class of mills," said the officer. "Probably they couldn't get in at all. They're all dull, some of them drink, and they aren't the kind of women you'd want to hire yourself if you were running any concern. They are doing the poorest grade of work in the whole place, but they are hardly capable of doing anything better." Finally one poor soul was reached who had a long and dismal history of bad home surroundings in early childhood, limited intelligence, an unfortunate married life, an inherited taste for liquor, and term after term of imprisonment, whose occupation was given as housework. "How is it she isn't in the mills, too?" was asked.

"Well," replied the officer, meditatively, "she really hasn't mind enough to do even the work in the ——— Mills; housework is all there is for her."

Once, and once only, was an exception found to this general unanimity of opinion. In a certain interior city, after looking up the records of women under sentence and finding the same general condition as elsewhere, the agent visited the juvenile court to see what was the situation among girls under 16. The officials explained that they had but few girls between 14, the age at which they might

legally begin work, and 16, but that the majority of their offenders within this age period who were employed at all were sales girls or cash girls in the cheaper department stores. This was such a complete contrast to conditions prevailing elsewhere, or even in this same city among the women over 16, that astonished inquiries followed, which only led to reiterated assurances on the part of the officers. None of them had any doubt on the subject; the department stores were doing more than any other cause to ruin the girlhood of F———, so far as that girlhood was employed. At last, in view of the interest manifested, they kindly agreed to tabulate their records for a year past and find out exactly how the girls of 14 and over had been employed. But 24 such girls had been before the court, and they had been divided as to occupation as follows:

	Per cent.
Telephone operators	8.4
Sales girls or cash girls in department stores	16.6
Factory operatives	12.5
Domestic service	33.3
At home and attending school	29.2

The telephone operators might fairly be added to the department-store girls as being engaged in trade and transportation, yet even so this whole group of occupations gives a smaller share of offenders than comes directly from the home and a considerably smaller proportion than comes from domestic service. If occupation affects the question at all, it would seem that domestic service is, in that place, more open to objection than the department store. The large proportion coming directly from their own homes, however, makes it seem probable that here, as elsewhere, it is the character of the family and the training and environment of the early years, rather than a girl's occupation, which determines her going astray. It is, however, a striking instance of the force of preconceived opinion that three officials, all fair and open-minded, and none having any reason for bias, should have agreed in declaring the department store so exceptionally injurious, when an examination of the figures showed that only half as many were engaged as sales girls as came from domestic service. In that particular city there are one or two department stores which bear a bad reputation, and this has so impressed the public in general and the officials in particular that when they find a girl from a department store in difficulties the fact makes an immensely deeper impression than when they receive a girl from any other occupation.

Elsewhere without exception the officials agreed that the better class of workers, the workers holding positions which to their own minds imply a certain social standing, were not to be found in their institutions. In some places this absence was so marked as to be really surprising. One manufacturing center was visited which lay

within the sphere of influence of a large and notoriously demoralizing city which had a large foreign population, and in which there were innumerable openings for women as operatives in the mills and factories and as clerks, stenographers, and bookkeepers in the offices; yet the inquiry for women of these vocations met the usual negative.

"No; we don't have that kind of woman," said the warden; "ours are all women of a lower class, who couldn't hold such positions."

"But how about mill operatives? Don't you get some of them?"

"No; I've been here five years and we haven't had any yet."

"Oh, hold on, Cap.; you're forgetting," broke in the clerk. "Don't you remember three years ago, when there was a strike at the X——— mill, two of the girls were brought in for calling the strike breakers names?"

"That's so," admitted the warden, "I'd forgotten that." But a search of his books failed to show any women of any of these classes arrested within the current year, although over 300 women had been brought in on one charge or another.

"But," objected one student of the subject to whom these facts were submitted, "naturally wherever they have probation for adults, the better class of women, who present the most hopeful cases, would be probated, so that you couldn't expect to find them among the prisoners."

This objection would be a strong one were it not that wherever adult probation existed the probationers were studied as well as the inmates of the institutions and probation officers consulted as carefully as prison records. The results were the same. They often had women from their own homes on probation, girls from the poorer kinds of factory work, some older women from the skilled factory trades, and many who either had no definite occupation or were domestic servants, but clerks, stenographers, saleswomen, bookkeepers—in short, all the higher grades of workers—were conspicuously absent.

It is not meant, of course, that no women from among these workers were found under sentence. The tables given in a previous chapter show how many and what proportion of the offenders came from such pursuits. But it is meant that not only were very few of these found, but that there was a practical agreement among those dealing with female offenders that these newer occupations, some of which demand skill and training, and all of which are supposed to have a certain social superiority over the older occupations, give far less than their proportionate share of lawbreakers. Moreover, the officials are also agreed that during the last thirty years, the period within which these fields have been opened up to women, and in which the great increase in women wage-earners has been along these newer

lines, there has been no increase of female criminality which could be traced directly or indirectly to their entrance upon these occupations. The verdict of experience confirms the showing of the prison records, that the great mass of women offenders come from the pursuits in which women have long been engaged. The "widening of their sphere" of industrial activity can not be held responsible for any "marked proportionate increase of criminality among women."

But has there been any such increase? There is no evidence to show that there has, while there is considerable reason to believe the exact contrary. It is difficult to draw satisfactory conclusions in this matter, because so many factors may enter in to change the results. The number in prison will vary according to the standards of the community, or the tendency of certain judges to inflict fines instead of prison sentences, or the degree to which the probation system is used, and so on. A "wide-open" city where offenders are numerous and daring may show a smaller number of arrests and convictions than another in which the laws are strictly enforced and in which public opinion will not tolerate acts which in the first city are hardly regarded as even undesirable; or in the same community the number of offenders brought to punishment will rise or fall according to the changing attitude toward a given offense. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that on the whole the standard of public morals is rising, not falling, and if there is a progressive decrease in the number of arrests and convictions within a certain class, taking the country as a whole, the criminality of that class is at least not increasing.

DECREASING NUMBER OF FEMALE OFFENDERS IN CONFINEMENT.

Now it is the general opinion among prison officials and prison workers that the number of female offenders is diminishing. "We don't get as many women as we did fifteen or twenty years ago," was a common statement. "We used to have as many as 50 women here at one time," said the warden of one institution, "but to-day we have 3, and I don't think we've had as many as 15 at once for five years past. Often we haven't enough to do the work of the institution." In one factory town where a decade or so ago a new house of correction was built with a large wing for women the number of female offenders has so diminished that it is not considered worth while to maintain a matron, and the women under sentence are boarded at the house of correction of a neighboring community. This arrangement was found in several places. Of course, in some States it is customary for several communities to unite in this way, but in this particular part of the country the device is not usual, and its adoption was directly due to the decreasing number of female offenders.

This tendency toward a decrease is most marked in States in which the laws are most exacting and most strictly enforced, and these are the States in which the largest numbers of women are committed. Naturally enough, it is more easily perceived in the serious offenses than in the misdemeanors. In New York the State prison for women has never been filled, and for years the number of inmates has either remained stationary or shown a slight tendency to decrease. The Massachusetts Reformatory Prison for Women was opened thirty years ago, and the year after its opening had 482 inmates. Of late years the number has shown a decided falling off. In 1906 the State commissioners thus commented on the decline:

> This place has had a very small number of prisoners throughout the year, and it is a long time since the number has risen above 200. * * * On September 30 there were 176 in prison. The reduction in number is not caused by a diversion of cases to other places, as sentences of one year or more, for felony or serious misdemeanor, to a house of correction, have for a long time been exceedingly rare. The decrease indicates a general falling off in sentences.[a]

The following year the number of inmates showed a still further decrease, getting down at one time to 127, the lowest number reached since the prison was opened. It rose a little after that, but on September 30, 1907, the date of the annual report, it was only 142.

The same diminution shows itself all over the State, and for all kinds of offenses. "In some of the county prisons," says the latest report of the Board of Prison Commissioners, "there are no women at all. In others the number has become so small that there are not enough to do the domestic work, and male prisoners have taken their places. In all prisons the number of women has fallen far below any condition which has existed for a long time."[b] In 1895 the whole number of women sentenced in Massachusetts for offenses of all kinds was 3,061; in 1905, when the population had increased by something over 500,000, it was 3,010. Two years later, in 1907, it was 2,513. The number of convictions not only failed to keep pace with the increase of population, but showed an actual falling off.

It is not possible to get equally conclusive data for the country as a whole, but all the figures accessible seem to point to the same result. In 1904 the United States Census Bureau made a study of prisoners and of juvenile delinquents in confinement. The figures obtained show that for the United States, as a whole, and for each main division of it, there had been a falling off in the number of female

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[a] Report of Massachusetts Board of Prison Commissioners for year ending November 30, 1906.

[b] Report of Massachusetts Board of Prison Commissioners for 1907.

prisoners between June 1, 1890, and June 30, 1904, the date at which the later census was taken.[a]

POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS OF DECREASE IN NUMBER OF PRISONERS.

There are three possible explanations for this falling off. First, it is conceivable that public standards might be growing laxer, the laws might be less strictly enforced, and as a consequence the decreasing number of commitments might really accompany an increase of criminality among women. Second, other methods of treatment, such as fines, probation, or commitment to private reformatory institutions might be growing in favor, and hence the diminished number of women in prison might bear no relation whatever to their criminality. And as a last explanation, it may be that the prison statistics reflect the real state of affairs and that criminality among women is actually diminishing.

As to the first explanation, it would be very difficult to show that there has been any general lowering of the standard of public morals. Common sense and common experience point to a directly opposite conclusion. The number of possible offenses is yearly augmented and the laws are enforced with increasing strictness. Take, for instance, Massachusetts, where, as shown above, the number of women sentenced annually has been actually decreasing while the population increased.

"We now have upon our statute books," says a well-known criminologist of the State, "nearly twice as many punishable offenses as were named in the laws fifty years ago. Furthermore, the machinery for the execution of the law has been so improved, and attention is so readily attracted to the slightest misdemeanor, that, whereas in former years many trifling violations of the law were allowed to go unnoticed, scarcely a single act that can be tortured into an offense is permitted to go unpunished to-day."[b]

Elsewhere the same tendency is at work. As population grows denser and conditions of living more complex, it is inevitable that conduct which in a simpler state of society is looked upon as concerning the individual alone becomes socially objectionable and that legal penalties should be enforced over a continuously widening field.

The second explanation is suggested in the census compilation which shows the decreasing number of women prisoners,[c] and the

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[a] Special Reports of Census Office, Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents in Institutions, 1904, p. 16.

[b] Pettigrove, Statistics of Crime in Massachusetts, American Statistical Association, Vol. 3, p. 6.

[c] "Whether there has been a proportionate diminution in criminal offenses committed by women, or whether imprisonment as a penalty for their crimes is less frequently resorted to, can not be stated."—Special Reports of Census Office, Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents in Institutions, 1904, p. 16.

fact that the period for which the decrease has been observed coincides with the introduction and rapid spread of the system of adult probation gives some ground for thinking that the diminution may be more apparent than real. However, it is to be remembered that the decrease appears throughout the whole Union while the use of adult probation, although increasing, is by no means general even yet, and was still less so in 1904.

For the Union as a whole, there is no means of testing how far the use of other penalties, such as fining, probation, or commitment to the custody of some privately managed institution, may be accountable for the falling off in the number of women prisoners, but for one State, Massachusetts, facts are available which answer the question conclusively. Massachusetts was the leader in this country in the use of adult probation, and practices it freely. Over fifteen hundred women were admitted to probation in 1907, a fact which might account for a considerable decrease in the number serving sentences.

ARRESTS OF WOMEN IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1896 TO 1907.

However, no person can be put on probation, or fined, or punished in any other way until he has been tried, and he can not be tried until he has been arrested. A comparison of the number of arrests through a series of years should show pretty clearly whether there has been an increase or decrease of criminality. Since 1895 the arrests of women in Massachusetts have varied as follows:

NUMBER OF WOMEN ARRESTED IN MASSACHUSETTS YEARLY.[a]

Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.
1896	9,646	1902	9,207
1897	9,193	1903	9,654
1898	9,199	1904	9,889
1899	9,300	1905	9,889
1900	8,884	1906	10 324
1901	9,052	1907	10,457

[a] From Annual Reports of Massachusetts Board of Prison Commissioners.

In the twelve years considered, the actual number of arrests of women increased by 811; meanwhile the number of females over 14 in the State increased from 975,578 in 1895 to 1,168,800 in 1905.[a] In other words, in 1896 the arrests of women formed a ratio of 0.988 to the female population over 14, while in 1907 the corresponding ratio was 0.894, showing a slight proportionate decrease. Some innocent women may be included among those arrested; all of those proved

[a] Massachusetts Census, 1905, vol. 1, p. cviii. The women arrested are all 16 or over. It is not possible to get from the census exactly the same age grouping, but those over 14 come sufficiently near for comparison.

guilty, whether released on suspended sentence, fined, placed on probation, sentenced to imprisonment or otherwise dealt with must be included here, and consequently the diminishing ratio of arrests to population must show either that the laws are less vigorously enforced than formerly or that there are proportionately fewer offenders. No one contends that the standard of enforcement of law has been lowered in Massachusetts during the last dozen years; consequently there seems no escape from the conclusion that while the number of women gainfully employed has been everywhere increasing, in that State, at least, the relative number of female offenders has diminished.

CHAPTER V.

RELATION BETWEEN OCCUPATION AND CRIMINALITY AMONG WOMEN.

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REPRESENTATION OF NEWER OCCUPATIONS AMONG FEMALE OFFENDERS.

The statistical study of over 3,000 female offenders has shown that 80 per cent come from their own homes or from the traditional pursuits of women,[a] and a trifle less than 12 per cent from all other lawful occupations. Confining the inquiry to women having a gainful occupation, we find that the group engaged in domestic and personal service, that is, in the pursuits which have always been open to women, furnish nearly twice their proportionate number of offenders; those engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits give something less than two-thirds of their proper share, while those engaged in trade and transportation, a group which has practically come into existence within the last three decades, give approximately one-third of their proportionate number. A further study of the earliest occupations of something over 600 women shows that the tendency of those in the higher-grade occupations to fall back into the lower when they have begun the downhill course is not sufficiently marked to alter these proportions materially. Apparently, the newer occupations either have in themselves some steadying influence, or else they do not attract the class of women most likely to become misdemeanants or criminals Before discussing the relative weight of these alternatives, it is worth while to consider the kind of women likely to be found in the ranks of the offenders, since it may be that the qualities of character and intelligence which lead them to become lawbreakers account also for the kinds of occupation in which they are most numerously found.

KIND OF WOMEN WHO BECOME OFFENDERS.

And first there is found an element among female misdemeanants and criminals which might well be excluded from any consideration of criminality—the occasional or accidental offender. A certain, or rather an uncertain, number of women commit offenses against the

[a] See table, p. 29.

law which can hardly be said to indicate a criminal tendency. Sometimes they err through ignorance, not knowing that they are violating the law. Sometimes they commit some form of larceny, generally shoplifting, moved by some curious impulse of which they themselves can give no account, but which seems occasionally to assail women of good reputation and position and to lead them into the commission of a wholly uncharacteristic act of dishonesty. Again, they may be women who, under some stress of circumstance, commit crimes of passion or violence. In these cases their offenses are apt to be serious; yet these are often women of normally good character, their criminal act standing alone and indicating not a tendency to crime, but a yielding to a temptation which is overpowering, usually unexpected, and not likely to be repeated. To whatever group they belong, these accidental offenders do not present a serious problem nor make up any large proportion of the delinquent classes.

The great bulk of female offenders, who offend repeatedly or in such a way as to show real criminality, may be divided into three classes. First come those whom one student of the subject classes as "moral imbeciles," women in whom the mental faculties are normal, who may even be above the average in intelligence and cultivation, but in whom the moral sense is absolutely lacking. Second, those who are really below the normal standard of intelligence, women who are too weak mentally to stand alone, who do well under guidance, but who are morally certain to go wrong as soon as the guidance is removed, and who ought on all accounts to be under custodial care all their lives. And, third, we have the great mass of female offenders, the rather low-grade woman, not very intelligent, usually not very well educated, generally untrained, and very often coming from unfortunate home conditions. Sometimes she has an ungovernable temper or inherits a taste for drinking, or is handicapped by some other inherited tendency. More often she is simply the victim of poor birth, poor environment, poor training, and bad associations. Following up her history, one is not so much surprised that she should have gone astray as that she should have retained as much decency as she often has. From one point of view she is a rather depressing character; from another she is most hopeful.

There are but few in the first class, but the intelligence and forcefulness which its members often display make them dangerous out of all proportion to their numbers. As seen in this investigation, there seem to be two groups, one primarily given to offenses against property, the other to offenses against chastity. The first make up the group, usually small in number, of professional thieves and pickpockets. They are not often given to burglary, apparently disliking the violence which may at any time be required in such an offense, or considering the danger too great. They may administer "knockout drops" on

occasion, but in general assault or physical violence forms no part of their stock in trade. They may be and probably are unchaste, but that is merely an incident. Theft in some form or other is their main interest, and when they take to the streets as hunting ground, they seek men primarily for the sake of robbing them.

The professional thieves and pickpockets attract more attention than the other and far more dangerous division of this class, the women, in whom there is an abnormal tendency toward immorality. "Moral imbecile" scarcely seems a suitable term for some of these, for they display a strength for mischief, an initiative in persuading or forcing others into wrong, which are not usually characteristic of imbecility of any kind. Of course abnormal sexual tendencies are common among women of weak mind, but members of this class are not mentally defective, or at least they show no other sign than this of being so. Not infrequently they are among the better educated offenders. They differ from the general class of offenders against chastity in the more deliberate and intentional character of their wrongdoing and in the pleasure they take in corrupting others. How numerous the class is can not even be guessed. Its members can be discovered, as a rule, only by careful study of the individual offender after her commitment, and in the ordinary prison or house of correction they simply pass through with the other prisoners, and go out to renew their dangerous activities.

The feeble-minded, or rather the mentally defective, form the second of the three general divisions of the prison population There is a growing recognition of the fact that there are many women and girls who are too defective mentally to be safe in the outside world, and who, if left unrestrained, will inevitably become mothers of illegitimate children. For years past there has been a demand for special refuges for such, and in a few States these have been provided. There is not a State in the Union, however, where this class is adequately provided for, and in most places there is either no provision at all or the almshouse or the jail is their only refuge. Even in the States which make some provision, the reformatories and industrial schools are clogged with girls and women who are not sufficiently intelligent to profit by their training, and should really be under custodial care. Many of these are only a little below the normal standard. They are entirely capable of leading useful and happy lives under control. They are sent to a reformatory and do excellently there; they work well and perhaps study well; they respond readily to the influences which surround them, and give every indication of wishing and meaning to live permanently by the new standards. But when they are placed outside and supervision is removed, their weakness shows itself, and they fall again into the courses which first led to their arrest. Unfortunately, we have but little data to show how numerous this class is.

Wherever prisoners are studied its members are found, and the more careful the study the larger, in general, is the proportoin assigned to this group.

Members of these two general divisions, the moral imbeciles and the mentally defective, may be found in any social class. True, most of them who reach the point of imprisonment come from the working classes, but this is due simply to the advantages which wealth and position give. The daughter of a wealthy family who is so defective mentally as to be incapable of self-direction is by the very fact of her position so protected and cared for that her incapacity may never even become known. Many of the girls who on account of mental deficiencies find their way into reformatories and penitentiaries have no criminal tendencies. They are gentle and inclined to goodness, but so weak and easily influenced that if their associations and environment are unfavorable it is a foregone conclusion that they will become offenders. Born in a different circle, they would receive as a matter of course the protection they need. If, on the other hand, a family in easy circumstances finds a daughter displaying the tendencies of a moral imbecile, every possible means of counteracting and eradicating such tendencies is at their disposal, and if such efforts are unsuccessful, the girl can at least be so guarded and cared for that her propensities will not become a source of public danger, and may never be known outside a very limited circle. From the very nature of their positions, potential offenders of these two groups, although they may be found in any social class, are not apt to become actual offenders except in the working and lower middle classes.

But the majority of female offenders belong to a third class, and are neither moral imbeciles nor conspicuously defective mentally. They are usually rather unintelligent, and their training, or rather their lack of training, has left undeveloped what capacity for clear thinking they may originally have possessed. The lack of scholastic training is very noticeable. Among the whole 3,229 women studied, not one college graduate or college student was found, and in the overwhelming majority of cases a distant acquaintance with the three R's was the limit of intellectual culture.

But the low scholastic training is of infinitely less importance than the lack of training in self-control, in the domestic arts, in a realization of the rights of others, in a sense of social interrelations; in a word, in the science of living. In the domestic arts they are conspicuously untrained. Very few of them have more than the crudest notions of keeping a house or caring for a family, and some have absolutely no education along these lines.

"You never saw anything like the amount they don't know," said one warden earnestly. "Till I came here I supposed it was as natural for a woman to know how to sew as to know how to eat or how to put

up her hair; it was part of being a woman. But give these women a needle and thread and they've no more idea what to do with them than my cat here. And it's just the same with cooking and washing and all the things a woman is supposed to know about. I've found that mostly the women who really know how to do anything don't come here; they're doing it, and that keeps them out of harm's way."

In other institutions the same story was told with varying details. Everywhere the officers were agreed that the prison woman is in the main a woman who does not know how to do anything well. They are, for the most part, untrained and unskilled, women without a trade, who, if they work at all, drift from one low grade of employment to another. They are such undesirable employees that they are the first to lose their places when times grow hard, and their work, done unintelligently and reluctantly, interests them so little that they are not apt to hold it long, even when employers are willing to keep them.

There are exceptions, of course. Among the occasional offenders women of intelligence and cultivation are sometimes found. Among the women committed for intemperance are some who have been skilled workers, others who have kept their own houses well, and still others who are capable and well-trained servants, but these are in the minority. One of the first efforts of every reformatory institution is to teach its women to do something well enough to take pleasure and pride in its accomplishment, and if this can be done it is felt that a long step has been made toward placing the girls in the paths of right doing.

Such, then, are the general classes of lawbreakers among women. First, there are the moral imbeciles, who may occur in any social grade, but who are not likely to appear in prison unless they come from the lower classes. Second, there are the women who on account of mental deficiencies or abnormalities are not capable of self-direction. Like the first group, these may be found in any station, but among the wealthy and the comfortably well-to-do they do not often find their way into public institutions. And third, we have the class containing the great majority of female offenders, the rather or very low grade women who are in the main uneducated mentally, and untrained industrially, and undeveloped morally.

KIND OF WOMEN ENTERING VARIOUS EMPLOYMENTS.

In view of these characteristics of female offenders, it seems probable that the good showing made by the newer occupations is due to a combination of the causes already mentioned; they have a certain disciplinary and educative value in themselves, and the kind of woman ordinarily found in the ranks of misdemeanants is hardly qualified to enter them. The stenographer or bookkeeper or cashier

or confidential clerk must have a certain amount of intelligence and general education to begin with, and must usually have taken some special training in addition. Some force of character, some sustained and purposeful effort, is required before a girl can enter such a position. The place once secured, it can not be held without a considerable amount of patient application, of attention to uninteresting detail, of doing a thing because it is to be done, and of sacrificing present inclination to a definitely conceived plan of action. A saleswoman or a packer and shipper may not require as much preliminary training, but the discipline of the position is no less exacting. The training in systematic and sustained industry, in promptness, in obedience to a recognized authority, tends to build up a type of character which renders its possessor very unlikely to come into conflict with the laws. By their very nature, these positions carry with them a training and discipline of high value.

"Our girls as a class," says an authority on women in prison, "are antisocial. It is very hard for them to see their conduct in its relation to the lives of those around them. They are individualistic in the extreme. They have never thought of the necessity for government and law, and can see no reason for obedience to anything but their own impulse."[a]

No girl could submit to the discipline of a well-ordered office, shop, or factory and continue to deserve this description. She probably could not get into such an establishment in the first place, but if she could she would inevitably have to change either her character or her position.

The lower grades of factory work share this advantage to a very limited extent. When work is irregular or seasonal; when it can be entered upon without training and exchanged for something equally good, or bad, as the caprice of the moment dictates; when it involves a stupefying monotony or a nervous strain so intense that no woman can endure it for more than a few years; then what small disciplinary value it may have is entirely overbalanced by its disadvantages. It is these unskilled factory trades which furnish a large proportion of the offenders coming from the manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. Nevertheless, in even the poorest of trades there is apt to be more order and system than is found in homes of the worst class, and this may have something to do with the fact that none of these trades furnish their numerical proportion of lawbreakers.

But in addition to the disciplinary value which they share with the better grades of factory work, the newer occupations have certain advantages of their own. In most, probably in all of them, the girl has reached a position in which a jail or prison sentence for a

[a] Report of superintendent of Bedford Reformatory for 1907, p. 25.

woman is looked upon as an ineffaceable stigma, and the public sentiment of her class becomes a tremendous force to restrain her from any open break with respectability.[a]

The disciplinary value of steady, well-directed work, and the sentiment of one's class are strong factors tending to produce right living, but in many of the newer occupations the worker may have two more—interest in her work and the hope of advancement. Her work often calls not only for skill but for judgment and initiative. Sometimes it requires a high degree of both. Then the mere fact of going out to one's work and coming back again breaks the monotony of the day. There is change and variety about the work in many cases and almost always there is companionship. The workers themselves appreciate the value of this last element highly. An official of the waitresses' union in one of the larger cities, herself married, states that it is the common practice for waitresses to work for a year or two after marriage, whether or not their wages are needed, taking the short shift, i. e., working from 10 or 11 till 2 or 3. "When you're used to working with a lot of girls," she explained, "it's awful dull staying at home all day by yourself, and when there's only you and your husband there isn't work enough to keep you busy half the time. When the children come, the girls give up the outside work."

The poorest of the newer trades has the interest of working in company; the better ones have much more. It is entirely possible for the girl to go to her work with pleasurable zest and to find in it the interest and excitement of the day. The loneliness of domestic service and the deadening monotony of the poorer grades of factory work, both of which naturally lead a girl to seek relief in the dubious pleasures open to her, are alike wanting. Her work itself may supply interest and companionship, both of which are safeguards against the temptations most likely to assail her. Add the element of ambition, the possibility that if the worker desires it she may rise to one of the really well-paid and responsible positions, and it will be admitted that the saleswoman or stenographer or clerk or cashier has some cogent inducements to avoid forfeiting her standing.

When we turn to personal and domestic service and to housekeeping, we find the situation reversed. It may be said with much truth

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[a] "How is it," the superintendent of a large reformatory institution was asked, "that you seem to place all your girls in domestic service? Aren't there some who would be better fitted for other kinds of work?"

"Yes, there are," she answered, "but we can always find places for them as domestics and we can't in other lines. I remember one girl, much above the average in intelligence and cultivation, whom I tried to get into a telephone exchange in New York. She was well qualified and a good worker, but the manager wouldn't even consider engaging her. 'I've got a nice set of girls here,' he said, 'and in justice to them I can't take a girl from a reformatory. It wouldn't be fair; besides, they wouldn't stand it.'"

that keeping one's own house or doing the work of another person's requires to the full as much intelligence and self-control and capacity for planning a course of action and carrying it out to the end as an industrial career of any kind. The difference is that the manager of a shop or an employer of the better grade of female workers will not accept service below a certain standard, while no such standard is set for the girl who marries and keeps her own house or who enters the lower grades of domestic work. Again and again a girl who in a reformatory is classed as not quite capable of self-direction marries soon after her release. Innumerable others of the same grade of intelligence who have not reached the reformatory also marry. It is small wonder if, having married, they go wrong. Given a certain moderate amount of temptation or of exposure to bad influences and the result is a foregone conclusion. They go wrong from their own homes rather than from the newer occupations simply because they are not capable of entering the latter.

Even if a girl is not mentally defective, even if she possesses intelligence enough to do well under reasonably good circumstances, such circumstances are too often lacking. The only kind of housekeeping of which she has any knowledge has no disciplinary value, while her life as a married woman brings some special temptations of its own. Among the majority of the class who reach the prisons orderly housekeeping is rare. Work is done when the worker feels like it and neglected when she does not. Procrastination, shiftlessness, impulsive and desultory activity or sheer idling characterize their nominal occupation. The discipline of steady, systematized industry is wholly lacking. They have neither the knowledge nor the desire to do better.

Sometimes drinking is an accompaniment of the gossip which fills up the abundant leisure of such housekeeping, and the fact that she is now a married woman will excuse an occasional overindulgence which would be considered unbecoming in a girl.

Given such women, naturally weak and easily influenced, unfortified by early training, too unskilled to find pleasurable interest in caring for their homes, with little outside incentive to purposeful and effective living, placed, as they usually are, in a demoralizing environment, there is certainly no room for surprise at the fact that nearly one-fourth of the offenders studied (23.5 per cent) were married women keeping house.

Domestic service, as known to most of the women found under sentence, has the same two drawbacks as housekeeping; it is easily entered by the class most likely to be found in prison and has little in itself to restrain their tendencies. Moreover, domestic service, again as known to these women, has some dangerous features of its

own. The principal reason for the large number of offenders from its ranks undoubtedly is that it affords an opening for the low-grade and unskilled worker who could not possibly secure or retain a place in any well-organized industry. The servant who finds her way into jail or prison is not ordinarily a trained domestic worker. A few such are found among those committed for intemperance or theft, but generally she is an unskilled worker of the poorest grade. Nothing is more surprising than that such women are able to secure places at all, but they rarely seem to have any difficulty in doing so.

These workers have little or no social standing, and so the incentive of maintaining their position, so powerful among workers of a better class, is wanting.

While domestic service is thus open to the lowest grade, it has for them little educative or disciplinary value. A confusion of speech frequently arises because the persons discussing the advantages of domestic service have in mind a well-ordered household and a just, intelligent, and considerate mistress, while those discussing its disadvantages have in mind the exact reverse. The servants who appear in jail do not as a class come from houses of the first kind. They are apt to work for people whose standards are but little higher than their own. Their work is often carried on under unhygienic conditions, their hours are long and irregular, and their mistresses frequently "awful aggravating." They can not do their work well enough to take any intelligent interest in it and the day becomes a lonesome and monotonous round of drudgery. They have no prospect of rising to anything higher, so that the spur of ambition does not drive them forward in the right way and there is no social standard of their own class to hold them back from the wrong.

Apart from these general disadvantages, domestic service has one or two special drawbacks tending to increase its contributions to the ranks of lawbreakers. The temptation to theft is constant and the danger of discovery less than in most other forms of industry. This is specially true where it is customary for the servant to live outside, coming to her work in the morning and going away at night, a custom which immensely increases the ease of disposing of her spoils. If a factory girl wishes to steal, she must usually go outside her place of employment to find the chance. If a saleswoman is tempted, she knows that the store detective is quite as likely to be watching her as the customers, and that under the system of checks and counterchecks it is not probable that she can take much without discovery. But the carelessness of the average household affords unlimited opportunity for petty thefts, which probably are never discovered, but which pave the way for more serious peculations. A glance at the table of occupations and offenses in the preceding study shows

how suddenly the number of servants and domestic workers increases under the headings of major and minor offenses against property.[a]

Unquestionably the opportunity it offers for larceny attracts to domestic service some professional thieves, especially in the larger cities. If they wish to escape observation for a time, it offers a refuge; if they wish to do a fresh stroke of business, as servants they can most easily become familiar with the house they wish to rob, can find where the valuables are kept, and learn when and how to secure them with the least risk. Domestic service also offers the best opening for women who are not professional thieves, but whose morals are easy and who have no objections to increasing their incomes by any trifles, considered or unconsidered, which may come in their way.

Domestic service also makes a very bad showing with respect to offenses against chastity, but this again is partly due to the fact that women can secure employment in it when they are of too low grade to be employed elsewhere. Nevertheless, the number of better-class servants who had erred in this way makes it seem certain that there are some special temptations in this direction inherent in the occupation. Such temptations are not far to seek. The loneliness of the life leads a girl to seek company in her hours of freedom, and too often this company must be found and entertained on the streets. If the men of her employer's family have any desire to mislead her, her position makes it peculiarly easy to do so, while if the girl herself happens to be one of the moral imbeciles before discussed, her position likewise gives her peculiar opportunities for spreading moral contagion. The isolation of the girl deprives her of the protection other workers find in the publicity of their lives, and the lack of social standing which seems at present inseparable from her occupation takes away a powerful incentive to right living.

In the case of intemperance, and its allied offense, disorderly conduct, it seems probable that the large proportion from domestic service is due mainly to the grade of the workers, rather than to temptations inherent in the occupation. A few, indeed, ascribed their first overindulgence to loneliness ("Its breaking my heart I was, all

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[a] This condition seems to prevail abroad also. "Girls come up from the country and enter houses where the great or relative well-being which reigns seems to them a sign of enormous wealth. They are badly paid, yet are given money, plate, and other valuables to handle, which awake in them the greed innate in every woman. A small malversation in the daily expenditure, or the theft of a trinket or a piece of silver seem to them rather an irregularity than a judicial crime. 'Forty-nine per cent of female thieves,' writes Madame Tarnowsky, 'belong to the class of domestic servants, and return to service in their intervals of liberty from prison; 34 per cent are general servants—that is to say, they receive no training and take low wages.'"—(Lombroso, The Female Offender, pp. 207, 208.)

day long, with never a one to pass a good word with me, and me with 11 brothers and sisters, and never away from them a day in my life before"), and a few others who had been cooks in well-to-do families or boarding houses thought it due to always having liquors at hand. But these were exceptions. The majority were simply women who would have been likely to take to drink whenever a modicum of temptation offered. There was little in their work to interest them, and little in the standards of their class to restrain them from intemperance. Drinking was the quickest and easiest way of vivifying their monotonous lives, so they drank.

CONCLUSION.

These characteristics of the two groups of occupations, taken in connection with the kind of women who become lawbreakers, show what is the real relation between occupation and criminality, and why the traditional pursuits of women have such a disproportionate representation in the prison population. The accidental or occasional offender may come from any class or grade; the most intelligent of women may yield to a sudden, overpowering temptation, and the least intelligent is not exempt. The moral imbecile also may be found in any occupation or grade. But these two classes combined make up but a small proportion of the women in confinement. The majority are untrained and unintelligent, incapable of securing one of the better-grade positions in the first place, and of holding it in the second. They come from the ranks of domestic and personal service and from housekeeping, not because these occupations necessarily lead women into conflict with the laws but because they are the chief pursuits open to the kind of women likely to come into conflict with the laws, and also because these occupations have in themselves but few restraining influences for such women.

The newer occupations, on the other hand, show far less than their proportion of female offenders because they attract the better grade of workers, and because they exercise upon these women several restraining influences. It is possible that they expose their workers to more temptations than do the traditional forms of women's activity, but they also present safeguards against these temptations. The relation between occupation and lawlessness is not directly casual; it lies deeper in the demand a given occupation makes for intelligence and character in its workers. The newer occupations make such demand and hence the small proportion of offenders from their ranks. In the main, women do not offend against the laws because they are engaged in domestic or personal service, but the offenders who have been engaged in such work are the kind who would be likely to offend wherever they might be placed; they do not refrain from lawbreaking

because they are engaged in commerce or transportation, but the women capable of following such occupations are the kind who are the least likely to break the law.

There is one more way in which the opening up of newer occupations has affected the amount of lawbreaking among women. It has afforded openings for many who could not have found employment in the few overcrowded pursuits formerly open to women, and who would not have been attracted by such pursuits if they could have entered them. There seems to be a small class, probably increasing in numbers, of girls who are not really needed at home, but who are too restless, active, and energetic to be satisfied with a life of idleness. If obliged to remain in their fathers' homes, making occupations for themselves, or frankly waiting in idleness for a suitor to present himself and give them a home of their own to occupy their energies, they take to mischief, not from any criminal tendencies but from sheer overflowing vitality. They can not do nothing. For these girls the newer occupations offer a safe outlet. They can take up some occupation, utilize their abilities and gratify their desire for action, and either go on permanently, working their way to some of the higher positions, or marry and make all the better wives for their experience of the demands of the world outside. One case may serve as a sample of many:

M. Z., 16, of German descent, graduated from grammar school. Parents neat, respectable, and thrifty Germans. Girl wanted to go to work; parents would not allow this, as they did not need her wages, and thought she should remain at home and help about the house. Girl became unmanageable, and stayed out several nights, whereupon parents brought her into court as incorrigible. The probation officer urged that the girl should be allowed to go to work. The parents agreed, the girl was placed on probation, and found work for herself in a department store. From that time on she gave no trouble, and a year later (June, 1908) was discharged from probation.

Fifty years ago Doctor Sanger declared that any increase of industrial opportunity for women would result in a marked decrease of the social evil. Whether or not that has been the case, his general theory that there was an intimate connection between lack of industrial openings and wrongdoing seems to have been proved correct by the developments of the last thirty years.

The conclusion of the whole matter, then, so far as this investigation is concerned, may be summed up in two propositions:

1. The widening of the industrial sphere of women has not been accompanied by any proportionate increase in criminality. So far as any change is perceptible it is toward a proportionate diminution of legal offenses. This tendency is not strong, but is clearly discernible.

2. Not an instance has been found in which the newer occupations thrown open to women within the last thirty years have produced their proportionate share of female offenders. In most cases they have fallen far below their normal proportion. The inference is strong that so far as the increased industrial opportunities have had any effect it has been in the direction of greater respect for law, and that the apparent decrease of criminality among women is not only an accompaniment, but in part a consequence, of their wider industrial opportunities.

CHAPTER VI.

RELATION BETWEEN OCCUPATION AND IMMORALITY AMONG WOMEN.

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INTRODUCTION.

While the primary object of this investigation was to collect facts concerning criminality, it was found impossible to ignore the question of immorality, in the technical sense of the word, among working women. According to the locality and to its own nature, immoral living is, legally, either a misdemeanor or a crime, but there is a general and undoubtedly accurate belief that a great deal of this crime or misdemeanor exists which never finds its way into court. It is estimated, for instance, that there are about 30,000 women in New York City living a life of vice, a number much in excess of what might be deduced from the court records. If their entrance into the industrial world is leading women in any large numbers into vicious ways of life it is an insignificant detail that they do not reach the court or the prison. The harm lies in the life, not in the incident of imprisonment.

For reasons given at the beginning, it was felt that no comprehensive investigation of immorality could be successful, but information was gained about the extent of the social evil in different places visited. After the main work of the investigation had been finished, a supplementary inquiry was made to add to this information. The study of criminality had pointed strongly to the conclusion that lawbreaking among women had little or no connection with the change in industrial conditions, but was due, in general, to causes operating before they entered the industrial field, that the newer occupations opened to them attracted the class least likely to go wrong, that in addition these newer occupations threw around the workers some safeguards and incentives to right living not found in the older forms of their industry, and that consequently, so far as they affected the character of women at all, their influence was beneficial. It seemed worth while to find whether an analogous situation existed in regard to the women who go wrong without falling into the hands of the law.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

For this purpose a number of rescue homes, refuges, and asylums were visited, and a number of social workers whose duties brought

them into contact with the question of immorality among women, were interviewed. It was not imagined that by these means a comprehensive knowledge of the situation could be gained, or that this constituted an "investigation." It was felt, however, that an examination of the opinions of a large number of persons representing widely different points of view, but all having practical, first-hand knowledge of the question, should have considerable indicative value. Judges, doctors, social settlers, rescue workers, officers of societies for the suppression of vice, officers of protective leagues, students of social conditions, investigators, and social workers of every kind were visited. If persons seeing such diverse aspects of the problem were found to be in substantial agreement upon any points, it would furnish a strong presumption that such points might be accepted as settled.

The first result of such an inquiry was naturally great diversity, but soon, out of the medley of varying opinions collected, two striking facts became apparent:

1. Not one person consulted had given occupational influences as a leading cause of immorality, and only two laid any particular stress upon them as subsidiary causes.

2. Not one worker assigned poverty or low wages as a direct and immediate cause of immorality. It was agreed that indirectly their influence is great, but in the whole inquiry only five cases were found in which the workers reporting them believed that the women had been driven into wrongdoing by want.

CLASSIFICATION OF WOMEN CONSIDERED.

Why, then, do girls go wrong, and to what extent do occupation and low wages affect the matter? Before an answer can be even attempted some classification must be made of the women found on the farther side of the established bounds of morality. Innumerable divisions might be made, but perhaps it is sufficient for practical purposes to consider them as arranged in four groups—the unmarried mother, or woman likely to become such, classing here those who, though they may have gone far wrong, have not usually made a trade of vice; the girl who leaves and regains the accepted path without any general knowledge of her deviations; the occasional prostitute; and the professionally immoral woman. No hard and fast line can be drawn between these classes. Those in the second may at any time become members of the first, though usually they are sufficiently intelligent and instructed to avoid this; and from both the first and the second girls are continually passing over into the fourth, either driven down by force of circumstances or entering its ranks voluntarily by a natural progression. This grouping leaves out of account the "kept woman," who, though she is usually looked

upon as making a trade of vice, occupies a far less degraded position than the woman who is promiscuously immoral; she, moreover, is not often met with in refuges or homes.

The distinction between the first two groups, in fact, is rather one of intention than of act. To the first belong the girl who is betrayed through her affections without much fault of her own, the girl who indulges in dangerous practices apparently without any thought as to possible consequences, the ignorant girl who really does not appreciate what she is doing, the girl of low intelligence and weak will, easily led astray, the girl who has been sold or forced into her trouble, the girl of strong maternal instincts who considers motherhood desirable, even at such a price, and the low-grade girl whose heredity and environment have been such that she yields to temptation with scarcely a thought of resistance. The second is a curious class, composed of girls usually of some intelligence and cultivation, who do not consider themselves "fallen women" in any sense of the words, who would, indeed, be highly indignant if they found themselves so classed, but who nevertheless ignore the accepted standards for a longer or shorter time, finally returning to the conventional path without considering it necessary to go through any preliminary period of repentance and probation. They do not intend that their deviations shall result in motherhood, and usually they are prepared to avert this consequence at no matter what cost.

The occasional prostitutes are women who on the whole prefer a respectable life, but who, when work is lacking or wages too small, or under other stress of circumstance, occasionally follow evil courses. They differ from the girl of the second class in that they take up the life definitely for money, and in that they may at any time adopt it. It figures in their minds as a possible resource to be used when occasion demands; they rank closer to the habitually immoral women, and may at any time enter their ranks. Until they do so, however, they support themselves in the main by honest industry, resorting to illicit earnings only under pressure of some kind.

THE UNMARRIED MOTHER.

How are these different groups recruited? Where do the women come from, and why are they here? The answer differs not only for each group, but for the different elements in each group. The first and fourth classes are probably more numerous than the others, and are certainly more easily located. Let us consider first the group of unmarried mothers.

Taking these as found in homes, refuges, retreats, etc., or as known to social workers whose position brings them into contact with this problem, we find that the group is composed of exceedingly varied elements. One of its component parts may well be excluded

from any extended consideration. These are the girls of good training and antecedents, girls of intelligence and of otherwise good character, who have been led astray through their affections. They have trusted some man who has betrayed them, but the one act is not characteristic of their lives. Almost invariably they are young girls who have come from their own homes. Individually each case represents a tragedy, but collectively they hardly present a social problem. They may become a social menace if cast out by their families and forced down into professional immorality, but their tendency is to retrieve their error and to resume the life their false step cut sharply across.

OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN IN THIS CLASS.

Omitting these cases as not being in any degree symptomatic, the industrial status of the girls received in these homes seems to parallel closely that of the women found in the courts and prisons. In most cases it was impossible to obtain exact figures as to the antecedents of such inmates, but the experience of the managers was that more came from their own homes than from the ranks of the workers, and that of those who were self-supporting far more came from domestic service than from any other pursuit. The few cases in which exact figures could be obtained sustained this opinion. The majority of refuges do not keep records of the occupations from which the girls are received, or, if they do, are not willing to make the figures public. An important "home" of New York is one of the exceptions, and the table following gives the occupations of the girls received there during two years. It may be remarked in passing that the number coming from their own homes naturally varies according to the location of a given home, and according to whether it admits all erring women, or only those who have gone astray for the first time. If the latter is the case, the number coming directly from their own homes is naturally high. This home is situated in the lower East Side of New York, and admits all who apply, so that the number from their own homes is unusually small.

FORMER OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN RECEIVED AT —— HOME DURING TWO YEARS.

Occupation.	Number received in 1907.	Number received in 1908.	Occupation.	Number received in 1907.	Number received in 1908.
Domestics	76	92	Teacher	.....	1
From their own homes	27	25	Sold papers on news stand	.....	4
Untrained (no occupation)	12	1	Saleswomen	6	.....
Seamstresses	13	8	Cashier	.....	1
Office helpers	5	5	Bookkeeper	.....	1
Factory girls	9	9	Stenographer	.....	1
Ladies' maids	2	1	Actress	1	.....
Dressmakers	.....	2			
Nurses	7	9	Total	158	168
Schoolgirls	.....	8			

To gain some idea of how the occupational groups are represented here, it is necessary to recast the figures, arranging them according to the census classification, when we get the table following:

WOMEN RECEIVED AT —— HOME DURING TWO YEARS, ARRANGED BY OCCUPATION GROUPS.

Occupation	Received in 1907.		Received in 1908.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
No gainful occupation:				
At home	27	.....	25	.....
School girls	.....	.....	8	.....
No occupation	12	.....	1	.....
Total having no gainful occupation	39	24.7	34	20.2
Domestic and personal service:				
Domestics	76	.....	92	.....
Ladies' maids	2	.....	1	.....
Nurses	7	.....	9	.....
Total in domestic and personal service	85	53.8	102	60.7
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits:				
Dressmakers	.....	.....	2	.....
Factory operatives	9	.....	9	.....
Seamstresses	13	.....	8	.....
Total in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	22	13.9	19	11.3
Trade and transportation:				
Bookkeeper	.....	.....	1	.....
Cashier	.....	.....	1	.....
Office helpers	5	.....	5	.....
Paper sellers	.....	.....	4	.....
Saleswomen	6	.....	.....	.....
Stenographer	.....	.....	1	.....
Total in trade and transportation	11	7.0	12	7.2
Professional service:				
Actress	1	.....	.....	.....
Teacher	.....	.....	1	.....
Total in professional service	1	.6	1	.6
Grand total	158	100.0	168	100.0

It will be seen that there is here exactly the same predominance of workers in lines long consecrated to womankind that was found among the women who had been brought into court.

From other institutions it was not possible to get exact figures, but there was a general agreement that the majority of the inmates came from their homes and from domestic service, then from the low grades of factory work, and then, scatteringly and at intervals, from clerical and office positions. Out of 25 homes and rescue agencies visited, the superintendents in 10 cases said they received the largest number of inmates directly from their own homes, in 14 cases that the most of them came from domestic service, and in one case that the majority were from the factories. (Besides large cities, the inquiry took in such manufacturing centers as Paterson and Trenton, N. J., Fall River, Mass., and Providence, R. I., so that factory girls might naturally have been expected to appear more numerously.)

The institutions which received the majority of their inmates from their own homes found that domestic service was the next largest source of supply, while those receiving a majority from domestic service were divided pretty evenly between own homes and the factory trades as the main secondary source. Occasionally other occupations were mentioned. One superintendent declared that at least one-third of the inmates of her institution came from their own homes, and that the others were pretty equally divided between the factories, domestic work in hotels and restaurants, and nursing. A social worker of wide experience mentioned as one of the minor sources the poorer class of stenographers, girls who go into positions as soon as they reach the legal age, without much education and with little training in self-control or self-direction. "I don't know how extensively they may go wrong," she said; "I have never heard other workers speak of them; but here they do form an appreciable, though small, element of our problem." Elsewhere, stenographers were spoken of as being exceedingly rare inmates, as were also saleswomen, bookkeepers, and similarly trained workers.

This general agreement that the home and domestic service furnish the majority of the inmates is the more striking since most of the superintendents held strongly to the established opinion that domestic service is the safest occupation for women. Their general attitude in this respect is illustrated by some extracts from notes of interviews with different managers:

Door of Hope, ———, Miss M., assistant manager, has been in the position five years. They receive only those in trouble for the first time. Receive about 200 girls yearly. Nearly all their inmates come either from their own homes or from domestic service. Occasionally have a school-teacher; very rarely a stenographer, saleswoman, etc. Questioned as to relative safety of occupations, assigned domestic service as far safer for a girl than store or factory, but admitted that they got very few factory girls and very many domestics. Did not attempt to account for this.

Door of Hope, ———, Mrs. V., manager, has been in this home ten years. They deal with about 240 women yearly. About one-half are self-supporting, the others living at home with their parents and having no gainful occupation. Among the self-supporting they have teachers, jewelry workers, stenographers, and workers of all kinds, but more come from some form of domestic service than from all the other pursuits put together. Asked as to dangerous occupations, Mrs. V. said at once she thought saleswomen were exposed to special perils. On further inquiry, said they rarely had a saleswoman among their inmates, and she had seldom heard of a saleswoman going astray. Could not reconcile this with her views as to the dangers of the occupation, but said she had never before thought of the matter statistically. Saleswomen seemed so exposed that it was natural to think they would go wrong extensively.

Rescue Home, ———. Saw Miss A., manager. Home is conducted on an emotionally religious basis; deals with about 150 annu-

ally. Most of their inmates come from domestic service; perhaps a fifth from their own homes. Questioned as to dangerous occupations, she said factory trades were exceedingly demoralizing. Inquired why, in that case, they received so many more girls from domestic service than from the factories, to which she replied that factory girls soon became so hardened and vicious that the rescue workers were unable to touch their hearts, while the domestics were more open to good influences. They practically never have saleswomen or stenographers.

Quotations might be given extensively, but the above are typical. Everywhere it was found that the inmates came chiefly from the accepted pursuits of women. They came from their own homes; they came from domestic service, which has always been accounted woman's special field; they came from the factory, to which women have been admitted for nearly a century; and in individual cases they came, singly and far apart, from the stenographer's desk and the saleswoman's counter, from all the newer occupations into which women have thronged during the last three decades. In other words, from this source, as from the prison inquiry, no evidence could be gained to show that changed industrial conditions have affected the morality of women unfavorably.

OCCUPATIONS REPORTED AS ESPECIALLY DANGEROUS.

Careful inquiry was made as to whether experience had actually shown that any given occupations were morally dangerous. Five were assigned by different social and rescue workers: Domestic service, the work of hotel or restaurant waitresses, the low-grade factory trades, trained nursing, and, in the one instance mentioned above, the cheaper stenographic positions. With both domestic service and the low-grade factory trades it seemed that the dangers lay not so much in the work itself—though with each the conditions under which it is carried on are frequently dangerous—as in the kind of women who are likely to enter such occupations. Both have been fully discussed in preceding chapters, so that any enlargement upon their special dangers and difficulties would be mere repetition. In two other pursuits, waiting in hotels and restaurants, and trained nursing, the trouble seems inseparable from the occupation, while in the third, the cheaper grades of stenographic work, the immaturity and lack of training of the workers seem to be important factors.

The work of a waitress in a hotel, restaurant, or café presents some very obvious dangers. The waitress comes in contact with men of every kind, some of whom consider a girl in her position fair game. She can not resent their advances, for she must not offend customers. Even her refusal to accept overtures must be carefully managed. Usually she has constantly before her temptations to intemperance as well as to immorality, and the girl who would resist one may fall

before the other. Moreover, the work presents some peculiar advantages for the woman who anticipates temptation with the full intention of not resisting it, and for the woman who seeks a cloak for an immoral life. For the first, the opportunities for forming relations with the men she serves are evident. For the second, the arrangement of hours has great advantages. In many restaurants it is customary to have sets of waitresses, working in different shifts. The long shift will be on duty all day, but a short shift will go on duty about ten or eleven in the morning and leave at two or three in the afternoon, when the rush hours are over. The short shift offers special advantages to the woman who, while really supporting herself by immorality, wishes to pose as a respectable working girl. The hours are not so long or so inconveniently placed as to interfere with her more profitable occupation, while if any inquiry should arise as to her mode of life, she is provided with a respectable calling. Should her double life be discovered, she will probably be accounted a woman who has been led astray while working as a waitress, thus increasing the disrepute of the occupation. The presence of the women of both these classes, of course, increases greatly the chance of undesirable companionship for girls innocent of evil who become waitresses, and adds a grave danger to those normally inherent in the occupation.

At first thought it seems rather surprising to find trained nursing assigned as a calling from which women are specially likely to go wrong, but it was so assigned in several places, all large cities. On consideration there seems good reason for looking upon it as a somewhat dangerous pursuit. The nurse is subjected to periods of long and exhausting mental strain, with much hard physical work in addition. Her position makes it easy for her to secure drugs and liquors, and the nature of her work creates a special demand for stimulants or restoratives. It is easy for her to become a hard drinker or a drug fiend, and when a woman adopts either habit the chances of her going wrong in other ways are much increased. Also, the nurse, like the domestic servant, is in a position which makes it easy for men to essay advances toward her if they have any desire in that direction. She has not the protection of publicity afforded by the factory or the department store, and when she is nursing a man opportunities for complications are evident. On the other hand, the preparatory training demands self-control, energy, and a sustained purpose, and a professional spirit is usually found among nurses which should serve as a strong restraint, so that these possible complications do not arise so often as the nature of the work might lead one to expect.[a]

[a] In the course of another inquiry, several cases were encountered showing that the workers themselves were conscious of the opportunities trained nursing offers, and also of the difficulty the preliminary training presents, to the woman who is likely to go wrong. L. R., a woman of much beauty but no morals, was divorced from her hus-

Stenography, as has already been mentioned, was assigned as a dangerous occupation by only one social worker, a worker, however, of such wide experience that her opinion should count for much. Her belief is that its dangers are confined to the class who receive the lowest salaries of all, the girls of 14 or 15, just out of school, who are ignorant and untrained, wholly undeveloped in character, not habituated to self-control, rather weak willed, and entirely unaware of the possible dangers of their position. Such girls, she declared, were unquestionably taken advantage of by their employers on occasion. Whether they would be likely to get on better in any other occupation was dubious. She was not inclined to believe that if, remaining just such girls as they are, they should be transferred to domestic service their dangers would be materially lessened. The real peril lay in their immaturity and lack of training, and until that was removed they would encounter serious risks wherever they might be.

INFLUENCE OF CONDITIONS NOT OCCUPATIONAL.

These pursuits were mentioned as having special dangers, but few of those interviewed were willing to ascribe the girls' errors to their employment. It was the character of the girl herself and the early training she had received which counted. As to their character, mental deficiencies seemed to play even a larger part among them than among the women found in court and prison. Some of the girls are absolutely feeble-minded, and should be under custodial care; a far larger number are the difficult border-line cases, girls who are so nearly normal that under favorable circumstances they might lead innocent and useful lives, but who, unless placed in a carefully chosen environment, are almost sure to come to grief again and again.

"I am practically certain," said one superintendent, "that a good many of these girls will go wrong again within two years of leaving us. They are not bad, but they are weak and stupid. They are not sufficiently defective to be held in custody, but humanly speaking it is impossible for them to keep straight except under the most favorable circumstances."

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band, and at once entered a training school for nurses, "having an idea that by her handsome appearance she could obtain a rich husband through that profession." But she found the discipline of the training too severe, and left the hospital to enter a house of bad repute. P. G., a girl of 18, entered a nurses' school with somewhat the same idea, devoting her afternoons "off duty" to gaining money by illicit means; she, too, found the training too hard, and dropped out. C. M. found the same difficulty, but obviated it by the simple device of going to a place where she was unknown, claiming to have been thoroughly trained, and securing engagements under this pretense until her scandalous life became known. The general impression among the doubtful class seems to be that trained nursing offers exceptional opportunities, but that the difficulties in the way of entering it are too great for the ordinary immoral woman to overcome.

"There is not a girl in this home to-day," said another, "whom I would call really normal. Some are actually on the verge of insanity, others are so peculiar that I don't know whether they ought not to be considered as having passed the verge, but the majority are simply below par. Some are merely backward and stupid, but others are so defective that they have no business to be at large. If they don't go wrong of their own volition, they will surely be led astray, and I can hardly hold them accountable."

On the other hand, a few homes were found in which the inmates were declared to be fully up to the normal standard, and in others the proportion of defectives was said to be small. On the whole, however, defective mentality of varying grades was rather generally assigned as a leading cause of the girls' transgressions.

Of equal importance with this cause, and often coexistent with it, is the character of the homes from which the girls come. Of course the kind of home depends largely on the sort of family from which they spring; in other words, it is closely connected with their heredity, and it conditions the training they receive. The homes are not necessarily immoral. The mere fact of poverty too often makes it exceedingly difficult to bring up children safely. The overcrowding which in a city is the inevitable accompaniment of lack of means constitutes a serious danger. When rooms are few and families are large, when all the activities of private life must be carried on more or less in public, it is impossible to develop the modesties and reticencies which form so important a part of the training of a girl in more fortunate circumstances. The girl brought up in such publicity may be thoroughly virtuous; her knowledge of things usually hidden from the young may even be a safeguard to her; but the dangers of such promiscuity are evident. And when to the crowded conditions within the home are added the crowded condition of the tenement house and of the tenement quarter of the city, the danger becomes acute. The only matter for astonishment is that these risks produce so few apparent results, and that the girl growing up in such surroundings can, and in the majority of cases does, remain unharmed.

But when, in addition to crowded tenement conditions, the girl must face utter neglect or actively immoral home conditions, what chance has she? The neglect may be unintentional, and, on the mother's part at least, inevitable, but its results are no less disastrous. A. S., a girl brought to a refuge a short time ago, is a case in point She was one of a family of six, with a drunken and worthless father who deserted his responsibilities whenever the fancy seized him. The mother made an uncertain living for her family by peddling laces and fancy articles. All day long and often till late at night she was absent, and all day long the children were left to their own devices. Naturally the income of such a family did not permit

them to live in a desirable neighborhood, so the companionship which the children found on the streets left much to be desired, and at the age of 13, A., "a wee scrap of a girl who looked even younger than she was," became a mother.

When in place of passive neglect the home offers actively immoral conditions, the resultant situation simply can not be dwelt on. A few quotations throw a lurid light on the consequences. The first is from a recent report of a New England rescue home; the second, from the appendix of the 1906 edition of Sanger's History of Prostitution, relates to New York conditions:

She grew up unfathered and unaccounted for in the home of her maternal grandparents. The standards of the family were evidently lax, for the unwelcome child of the eldest daughter became the victim of the youngest son, and the poor little girl is now a mother at 14.

A startling discovery made by the writer in his investigations of the vice and disease existing in a single block of the East Side of the city was the extreme youth of the majority of the women and girls affected. A mere child of 14 years in one tenement having contracted disease communicated it directly to 11 others living under the same roof. This would seem to indicate almost promiscuous intercourse among the occupants of the building.

Of course it is not meant for a moment to imply that such conditions are general, but they exist, and the girls who grow up under such influences are the very ones who, if they enter the industrial world at all, are apt to take up domestic service or one of the unskilled trades. If, later on, they are found to be violating the rules of morality, the occupation can scarcely be held responsible.

These two conditions, unfortunate early influences and defective mentality—the two often being combined in a single case—seem to be the principal reasons why girls go wrong, but they are strengthened by a number of subsidiary causes. Prominent among these is the lack of innocent amusement under suitable conditions. "Their work hasn't half as much to do with their going wrong as their amusements have," was a common statement. A desire for amusement is as natural as a desire for food; in the young, it is well-nigh as imperious. It may be the girl would really prefer safe amusements; the success of working girls' clubs and classes seems to indicate that she does not insist upon frequenting undesirable places when desirable ones are open to her; but if safe amusements are not at hand she will take what she finds. The saloon and the dance hall realize this, and take pains to be at hand, but the forces of morality have failed to recognize and supply the need adequately.

The dance hall with a saloon connection is probably the most harmful, but it is by no means the only dangerous opportunity for recreation within her reach. The cheap theater with its highly miscolored pictures of life; the penny vaudeville, the moving-picture show, the

summer resort of one kind or another—in all she is liable to find abnormal excitement, dangerous companionship, and every incitement to begin the course which leads so many to harm.

Another cause is frequently assigned—"the trusting nature of woman." It is difficult to say what weight should be assigned to this. Unquestionably a considerable number of young girls are led astray through their affection for a man who has promised marriage and whose promise they really trust. It is a question whether in such cases their action should not be attributed to a lack of proper training and instruction rather than to their innate character as women. Sometimes it is on the part of the girl a conscious yielding to overwhelming passion; she considers it wrong, but the impulse overrides her judgment and her conscience. It seems at least possible, however, that it more often represents an inherited attitude. Among certain classes abroad, premarital relations seem to be common, and not to be looked upon as objectionable, provided the expected marriage follows.[a] When these people migrate to the United States they may make rapid progress in social and financial standing, but it is too much to expect them to make over their whole code of morality in a single generation. When a mother has held such views, it is not surprising that a daughter should see little harm in premarital relations with the man she expects to marry. Indeed, in view of the fact that in the old country "marriage when needed is expected to follow," she may consider that such relations constitute in themselves a pledge of marriage, a view which the man, brought up in other traditions, may not share. If, then, he fails to carry out his side of the implied agreement—an implication of which he may be quite unaware—the girl is left to bear not only the natural consequences of her misstep, but the weight of disapproval of a social standard to which she has never subscribed and of which she has very little comprehension.

Among students of the problem, another cause is coming to be more and more generally recognized—the lack of proper instruction in sex physiology and hygiene. How, when, and by whom such instruction should be given are debatable points, but there is no question that much harm can be traced both to the utter ignorance of some girls on these subjects, and to the kind of information gained by other girls, as well as to the sources from which it has been obtained.

These are the main causes assigned for the girls' errors by a number of workers viewing the subject from a variety of standpoints It will be seen that they are chiefly operative among the girls who tend to enter the occupations of lower grade. A girl of defective mentality or poor home surroundings, a girl who must seek her amuse-

[a] See Booth, Life and Labor, Series 3, Vol. I, p. 55; Final Vol., p. 44.

ments in dangerous environments, a girl who inherits a lax standard as to relations between the sexes is not apt to be found in the more socially desirable positions. Ordinarily she is apt either to enter some form of domestic service or to go into a factory trade requiring no training and giving none. Here, as in the case of discovered offenses against the law, the relation between occupation and wrongdoing seems to be one of coincidence, not of cause. The girl does not go wrong because she is a domestic or an unskilled worker, but she is a domestic or an unskilled worker because she is the kind of girl most likely to be tempted and least likely to resist.

EFFECT OF LOW WAGES AND POVERTY.

Do low wages, then, play no part at all in this matter of moral evil? The consensus of opinion was that as a direct and immediate cause of going wrong they were almost a negligible factor, but that indirectly their influence was marked and disastrous. In the whole inquiry only one case was found in which the workers dealing with the girl felt that she had been driven into wrong because she could not live upon the wages she could earn. Four other cases were found in which the fall was directly attributable to poverty, but in these cases the difficulty was due not to low wages, but to no wages at all.

It must be observed that this relates only to the initial wrong step, not to becoming a habitual wrongdoer after the first error has been made. It was generally agreed that while it is the rarest of things for a girl to enter upon an immoral life directly through want, yet when she has once gone wrong through thoughtlessness or affection or from any other cause, then low wages or irregular or insufficient wages are strongly effective in deciding her to adopt a life of promiscuous immorality or in impelling her to drift into such a life without any definite decision.

When the question was shifted to the indirect effect of low wages and poverty the answer was very different. The girls were living at home in so many cases that the discussion necessarily dealt rather with the family income than with the girl's own immediate wages. Poverty, whether it be the result of a low family income, or of insufficient wages for a girl living by herself, touches the question of immorality in many ways. It decides the girl's companionships, her amusements, her ability to gratify without danger her natural and reasonable tastes, her very capacity for resistance to temptation. Its physical effects open the way to moral dangers. It means over crowding and bad sanitary conditions, and undernutrition or malnutrition, and insufficient or unsuitable clothing. A social worker with eight years' experience in one of the leading factory centers thus summarized the situation:

Between the crowding and bad air, both at home and at their work, and the kind of food they eat, and the long hours and monotony

of their employment, they are constantly in an abnormal state. They are feverish and uncomfortable; they want something, but they don't know what it is. They crave, with an intensity we can hardly realize, something to make them forget their discomfort, to divert their minds from the weariness of their lives. That is why they flock to these cheap amusement places, which are the only ones they can afford. There they find temptation on every hand, and they are in poor condition to resist it. The great wonder to me is that so few yield. It's not only the girls' wages which must be taken into consideration; it's the family income and the whole way of working and living. Part of it could be improved if the girls knew more about housekeeping and cooking, but much of it couldn't be unless the family income were considerably increased. When the girls are not living at home, conditions are apt to be even worse, for life on their wages means unceasing struggle and privation. Practically, though, all the girls here live at home or with relatives.

This estimate applies with local variations to every place visited. There was practical agreement that low wages do not drive girls wrong through want, but that indirectly they have considerable effect. Nevertheless, it was the exception for the girl to yield.

THE WOMAN OF THE SECOND CLASS.

KIND OF WOMEN IN THIS CLASS.

There is a general belief that there are a number of girls, principally saleswomen, stenographers, etc., who for the sake of a good time go wrong more or less seriously. They do not consider themselves fallen women, and do not support themselves by their wrongdoing. They simply take this means of securing more amusements, excitements, luxuries, and indulgencies than their wages would afford them. They are not promiscuously immoral; indeed, they have a lively scorn for the women who are; their own way of describing their status is that they "have a friend." When this friend fails them, they may take another, or they may give up the life altogether. Of course, while a girl is living this kind of life an accident or miscalculation may send her over the dividing line into the class who are promiscuously immoral, or she may find her taste for gay living developed to such an extent that she crosses the line intentionally. But more often she has her fling and then settles down to quiet living. Ordinarily, it is supposed, she marries, and the general impression is that in many cases she makes a rather unusually good wife.

IMPORTANCE OF CLASS.

It seems probable that the belief in the demoralizing influence of business and industrial life on women is due to the existence of this class, which has been given an importance its apparent numbers do not warrant. This is the only reason for discussing a class of which so little is definitely known. Since its distinguishing feature is that its members do not outwardly leave the ranks of respectability, it is

plainly impossible to secure reliable information as to its numbers. A great deal of wild talk is indulged in concerning it, talk which may possibly have a basis of truth, but which on the slightest examination reveals exaggeration and inconsistency. When analyzed, much of this vague accusation seems traceable to three causes: First, a belief that women can not live honestly on the wages they receive; second, the fact that standards of decorum differ among different classes, and that working girls sometimes indulge in behavior which among people bred in traditions of polite reserve would indicate immoral tendencies; third, a blind acceptance of a traditional idea—in other words, prejudice pure and simple.

As to the first argument, it is sufficient to refer to the various studies of cost of living recently made to show that people, working girls included, can and do live on far less than they really need.[a] The great majority of working women live at home, so that the inadequacy of their wages is pieced out by the family income. The lot of the working woman who has no home is hard, but its cruelest hardship is the assumption that the result she attains by struggle and privation is possible only through illicit assistance.

Concerning the second reason, the standards of behavior among working girls, although these differ widely according to the girls considered, it must be confessed that to those accustomed to reserve and decorum on a woman's part, the freedom of manner sometimes met with is suggestive of much evil. It must be remembered, however, that suggestion is not proof, and anyone who has had experience with working women in clubs or classes or homes knows that this freedom is entirely compatible with perfect rectitude of conduct. An investigator conducting an inquiry into wages and cost of living among working women recently came upon a striking illustration of the sweeping generalizations to which this difference of standards may give rise, and to the slender basis of facts, as distinguished from impressions and beliefs, underlying such generalizations. A certain man was found who had been employed as floor manager in several large department stores for over four years. In his different positions he had had the oversight of about 1,000 girls, and had naturally had good opportunities for observing their conduct. He declared that at the lowest estimate 80 per cent of the girls he had supervised were guilty of habitual immorality, and as evidence of his good faith agreed to make affidavit to the statement. On further inquiry it was found that this manager had come from a section of the country in which much stress is laid on the conventionalities of life, and that his opinion was based almost wholly upon the disregard of convention among the girls he supervised. They would ask men to take them to entertainments, or would address him and other men in a free and

[a] Compare Wage-Earning Women in Stores and Factories, Vol. V of this report.

easy manner which he was persuaded meant immorality on their part. When it came to an actual knowledge of immoral conduct, his information simmered down to one case in which a girl had charged that nine men in that particular store had been involved with her in improper conduct, a charge which investigation proved was true. Apart from this one case, all that he could swear to as a matter of actual knowledge was that 80 per cent of the girls under him were guilty of indiscretions which laid them open to a suspicion of immorality—a very different matter, as the investigator's further inquiry into the lives of these girls proved.

The third reason, the acceptance of a traditional belief, is probably the most influential of all. There is an accepted belief that saleswomen and office workers go wrong extensively, and people repeat it without stopping to inquire into the facts. On an earlier page [a] reference is made to the probation officers of one city who united in declaring that the department stores were terribly demoralizing in their influence, and that they received more young girls from them than from any other employment; yet when the actual facts were gathered from their own records, it appeared that just twice as many came from domestic service as from the stores. The case is typical. The tradition of the harmfulness of store and office work has been accepted, and it is repeated again and again regardless of the real facts in the case.

But how did such a tradition become accepted? Probably the matter of wages had much to do with it. It is difficult to live and keep up a respectable appearance on the wages often paid, and the easiest way of explaining how it is done is to hint at additions from discreditable sources. Then, undoubtedly, some girls in such positions do go wrong. There is no saving virtue in department store work which will render a girl impregnable to temptation, and women in industry live good and bad lives probably in about the same proportion as they do elsewhere. Yet the presence in any place of a very few saleswomen whose way of life was known to be questionable would give rise to a general imputation against the whole class.

"Go around to any of our fast resorts," said one person, well qualified to speak on the subject, "and you'll find girls from the department stores. They're well known there; you'll find they are spoken of as the 'Smith and Jones bunch,' or the 'Brown and Robinson bunch,' according to the store they come from."

"How many would there be in such a bunch?" was asked.

"Oh, I don't know; four or five, perhaps; maybe as many as a dozen from some of the larger stores."

Apart from the vagueness of the testimony, it will be seen that as some of the stores considered employed at least several hundred women, while in the larger ones the number ran well up toward a

[a] Pages 54 and 55.

thousand, the proportion claimed as wrongdoers is very small, yet on it this observer based his opinion that department store life is exceedingly demoralizing for women, involving almost certain misconduct. He knew that a few went wrong from the occupation, therefore he condemned it as a whole. Most who do so have not even his scanty basis of fact to justify their conclusion.

Another explanation for this widespread belief, suggested by a worker specially qualified to speak on the subject, is set forth in the following quotation:

The belief you mention in the general immorality of saleswomen is certainly widespread, but I have found nothing to prove it well grounded. In the course of some investigations into the methods by which department stores seek to secure and retain the trade of the professionally immoral women, a trade which, as you probably know, is considered exceptionally valuable, I came on something which may throw some light on the existence of the belief. Mr. ———, who was first a department manager in several large stores, and then himself established a millinery business, said he had found the best way of gaining and holding this trade was by having a forewoman who was "in" with such women, which of course meant that she herself led an immoral life, thus being able to meet them in the way of friendship, and to gain their trade as a natural matter.

"Didn't you find such a forewoman had a bad effect on your other employees?" I asked.

"Yes," he replied, "she certainly did get some of the others into her habits. But as soon as I found they were going that way, I discharged them."

You will see how the character of the forewoman would become known, and, since the reason for her being in the store was not made public, how naturally it would give rise to the impression that the morals in that store were easy. I don't know how far this method of gaining trade may be employed in other establishments, but I would suggest that it may be accountable for some at least of this curious belief in the immorality of saleswomen—a belief for which I have found as little valid ground as you appear to.

LACK OF DEFINITE INFORMATION.

It will be seen that little but conjecture can be given about this class. If it is anything like as numerous as is generally believed it is hard to understand why so few of its members come to open grief and appear in the ranks of the professionally immoral or among those who have reached the courts. The probability is that the reasons just assigned account for the general belief in its existence, and that its numbers are really but small. It seems almost certain, however, that there are some women and young girls in business positions who for a time live as carelessly as young men of their kind often do, and who, like young men, refuse to consider their lives materially affected by this experience. They present a very curious problem, but till more is known about them speculation as to the causes and effects of their deviations is valueless.

THE OCCASIONAL PROSTITUTE: A STUDY OF 30 TYPICAL CASES.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GROUP.

Women of this class are not often found in refuges or rescue agencies, or, if there, they are apt to misrepresent their status, for obvious reasons. Consequently, in order to gain some idea about their occupational tendencies, a study was made of a group of 30 offenders from the "red light" district of New York. Everyone who has had to do with women of this kind knows how hard it is to be sure of any facts about them; truthfulness is not their leading virtue, and in the wilderness of a great city it is next to impossible to follow their trail and learn anything more about their past than they choose to tell. Only by slow investigation and close knowledge of the individual woman can one gain any assurance that her story is even approximately true. Consequently it was found impossible in this limited investigation to learn the history of a sufficient number to form any adequate ground for conclusions; but, though small, the group studied seems fairly typical.

In the main, the women of this group work honestly, but under stress of circumstance, or under any special temptation, they take up the trade of the streets as a means of adding to their incomes, or perhaps to make up for an entire loss of income when work fails them altogether. In this particular group mental defects do not seem to have played any considerable part. One is described as somewhat flighty and hysterical, but she is not noticeably below the normal in intelligence; with this exception, not one shows signs of mental deficiency. Several of them are decidedly bright, with the acuteness of the street child. Most of them have little education. The one who is described as "flighty," who has relatives of means able and willing to take care of her if she would consent, went through the studies preparatory to a college course; only one of the others had reached the higher grammar grades, and half had gone only to the first grammar grades.

AGE AT LEAVING SCHOOL AND AT BEGINNING WORK.

The following table shows the age at leaving school and at going to work:

AGE AT LEAVING SCHOOL AND AT BEGINNING WORK.

Age.	Number who left school at specified age.	Number who began work at specified age.	Age.	Number who left school at specified age.	Number who began work at specified age.
9 years	1	.....	16 years	4	3
10 years	2	.....	17 years	2	2
11 years	.....	.....	18 years	.....	3
12 years	3	2	19 years	.....	1
13 years	6	4	22 years	.....	2
14 years	6	7			
15 years	6	6	Total	30	30

Leaving school too early was not so common a difficulty as irregular attendance, as a result of which the average attainment was far below what it should have been for the years nominally spent at school. One, who left at 15, had not reached the first grammar grade. Another who had gone "off and on" till she was 16 could not remember what grade she had reached, but had difficulty in reading simple prose. It will be seen that comparatively few began work before reaching the legal age, but in many cases there was an interval between leaving school and taking up some other occupation.

Naturally the majority were young women; 17 were between 16 and 20 years old, 12 between 20 and 30, and only 1 over 30.

The racial composition of the group illustrates what probation and prison officers often assert, that the foreign born are not so likely to become offenders as their children are. Only 7 of the group were born abroad, but 23 had foreign parents.

REASONS FOR ENTERING GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT.

For the most part the girls seem to have gone to work as a matter of necessity. Twenty-two assigned some reason indicating poverty. "My father and brother were out of work and I had to go." "My stepfather wouldn't get me any clothes; he said I was old enough to earn them, and I thought so too." "I had to go to work; sister wouldn't keep me any longer." "We had 10 children and father got sick." "We needed the money," and so on. In three cases the girl admitted she went to work because she didn't want to go to school; in three others dislike of school and desire for better clothes were the leading motives; and in two cases pure restlessness and dislike of home control seem to have been the causes.

In all but two cases the girl took up some occupation demanding little skill simply because she heard of an opening or had some friend working at that employment.

INDUSTRIAL HISTORIES.

The following table gives a résumé of the occupations each has tried, together with the girl's place of living, at home or elsewhere, at the time of her arrest:

No. 1 (began work, 1905, at 15):
- Embroidery factory.. 2 months.
- Waist factory..... 2 months.
- Picking over fruits... 4 months.
- Paper-box factory.... 2 months.
- Metal factory..... 2 months.
- Living at home.

No 2 (began work, 1896, at 12):
- Nursemaid..... 8 months.
- Housework..... 2 years.
- Tailor shop..... 8 weeks.
- Housework..... 4 years.
- Irregularly employed; boarding, private family.

No. 3 (began work, 1907, at 15):
Housework..... 11 months.
Sewing..... 4 months.
In disreputable house.

No. 4 (began work, 1906, at 15):
Nursemaid..... 3 weeks.
Living at home; not working for last two years.

No. 5 (began work, 1901, at 12):
Silk mills..... 6 years.
Waitress..... 7 months.
In lodgings.

No. 6 (began work, 1904, at 16):
Silk mills..... 2 years.
Chambermaid..... 6 months.
Lodging.

No. 7 (began work, 1905, at 13):
Nurse girl..... 6 months.
Laundry work..... 1 year.
Errand girl..... 2 months.
Chambermaid..... 1 week.
Lodging.

No. 8 (began work, 1902, at 15):
Housework..... 5 years.
Bakery..... 1 year.
Factory work..... 1 year.
Living at home.

No. 9 (began work, 1907, at 22):
Factory work..... 3 months.
Cap factory..... 1 month.
Boarding, private family.

No. 10 (began work, 1906, at 14):
Making jewelry boxes 11 months.
Stock girl in department store..... 4 months.
Lodging.

No. 11 (began work, 1904, at 18):
Sales girl..... 1 year.
Bag factory..... Few weeks.
Other factories..... Few weeks.
Actress..... 8 months.
Living at home.

No. 12 (began work, 1906, at 16):
Operating on machine. 13 months.
Housewife..... 4 months.
Housework..... 2 weeks.
Lodging.

No. 13 (began work, 1904, at 13):
Cotton mill..... 4 years.
Lodging.

No. 14 (began work, 1903, at 15):
Stock girl..... 2 years.
Telephone operator.... 2 years.
Living at home.

No. 15 (began work, 1890, at 14):
Machine operator.... 1 year.
Silk mills..... 2 years.
Box factory..... 3 years.
Housewife..... 7 years.
Millinery..... 6 years.
Lodging.

No. 16 (began work, 1896), at 14):
Housework..... 2 years.
Chambermaid..... 1 year.
Chambermaid and waitress..... 5 years.
Laundry work and waitress..... 2½ years.
Lodging.

No. 17 (began work, 1903, at 17):
Cigar making..... 1½ years.
Housework..... 1 year.
Handkerchief factory. 4 months.
Housework..... 1⅛ years.
Lodging.

No. 18 (began work, 1896, at 14):
Housework..... 5 years.
Nursemaid..... 2 years.
Housework..... 2 years.
Manicuring..... Few weeks.
Lodging.

No. 19 (began work, 1904, at 19):
Housework..... 2 years.
Actress..... 10 months.
Sewing..... 1 year.
Lodging.

No. 20 (began work, 1906, at 18):
Reporting..... 6 months.
Canvassing..... 3 months.
Boarding house.

No. 21 (began work, 1905, at 22):
Housework..... 18 months.
Singing and dancing.. 3 weeks.
Lodging.

No. 22 (began work, 1903, at 17):
Cigar making..... 18 months.
Lodging.

No. 23 (began work, 1902, at 13):
Cash girl..... Few weeks.
Housework..... 1 year.
Paper-box factory.... 6 weeks.
Labeling bottles..... 2 months.
Lodging.

No. 24 (began work, 1903, at 15):
Sewing..... 18 months.
Machine operator..... 7 months.
Stock girl, department store..... 4 months.

No. 24 (began work, 1903, at 15)—Con.
Stock girl, post cards. 6 months.
Lodging.
No. 25 (began work, 1897, at 14):
Nursemaid..... 5 years.
Housework..... 1 year.
Waitress..... 6 months.
Housekeeper..... 6 months.
Boarding with employer.
No. 26 (began work, 1904, at 13):
Sales girl..... 7 months.
Wrapping parcels.... 5 months.
Bookbinding..... 1 year.
Sales girl..... 5 weeks.
Match factory..... 3 weeks.
Living at home.
No. 27 (began work, 1904, at 16):
Folding dry goods... 1 year.
No. 27 (began work, 1904, at 16)—Con.
Copying..... 1 year.
Addressing envelopes. 3 months.
Lodging.
No. 28 (began work, 1900, at 14):
Nursemaid..... 3 months.
Housework..... 4 years.
Waitress..... 2 years.
Lodging.
No. 29 (began work, 1905, at 14):
Pencil factory..... 6 months.
Match factory..... 2 weeks.
Living at home.
No. 30 (began work, 1903, at 18):
Housework..... 2 years.
Chambermaid..... 18 months.
Waitress..... 1 month.
Living with relatives.

It will be noticed that except for cases 13 and 22 the girls seem to have had no plan underlying their industrial experiments. These two were foreigners, one of whom went into a cotton mill, the other into a cigar factory, each apparently intending to make it a permanent occupation and work up into the better paid grades. Of the others, 12 took up some form of housework, either beginning as nursemaid or as a general helper; 9 began in factories, 1 took in sewing, 1 commenced in an office, and 5 took some employment connected with retail stores, usually serving either as stock or cash girls. But in the interval between going to work and finding themselves under arrest, these 28—for the 2 who had selected permanent trades kept steadily to their chosen occupations—had taken up and dropped over 90 different kinds of work. What they began with gave no indication of what they would next adopt. From housework to a position as saleswoman; from a factory to restaurant work, or to an office position; from a nursemaid's place to singing and dancing on a vaudeville stage; from a silk mill to a place as waitress in a private house; from a place as sales girl to work in a match factory; in fact, from anything which the girl happened to be doing to anything of which she happened to hear, seemed to be the general course of the changes. There was no trace of any idea that one occupation could be used as a training school for something better, no slightest sign of any general purpose underlying their work, in accordance with which they passed from pursuit to pursuit, gaining with each step. They took up an unskilled trade, kept it till work grew slack or until they tired of it, then, not having gained any knowledge or experience which could be of any imaginable use to them elsewhere, they entered another unskilled occupation and repeated the process.

REASONS ASSIGNED FOR ENTERING IMMORAL LIFE.

One can hardly speak of the reason for their entering upon a life of wrongdoing, for in most cases they had done nothing so purposeful. They had done wrong, apparently, in the same casual fashion in which they had taken up their first and then their subsequent occupations. Several ascribed their downfall to their inability to secure work. In the case of the two who had selected definite occupations and kept at them, there is little doubt that this was really the reason; but in several cases it was plainly a mere excuse, not a reliable statement of the facts. Several frankly said they wanted a good time and couldn't get it if they were too strait-laced; several others, who probably meant the same thing, assigned bad company as the reason for their going wrong. One simply said she didn't need to work, and in a few cases home conditions were such that there was no room for wonder over the girl's action. Three claimed that their earnings were so insufficient that they were forced to supplement them as they could. One of these was a canvasser, one a domestic servant, and one a factory worker.

On looking over the records of this group, who, although they have made a bad beginning, do not represent an especially vicious class, one is struck by the incidental character of their wrongdoing. Apparently they are simply unskilled girls, with little knowledge of how to do anything well. Their work brings them small returns, and they are deprived of many of the normal pleasures of their age. Their surroundings have familiarized them with vice, and present in the background of each one's consciousness is the knowledge that if she chooses to take it there is a way at hand for her to make money and have the pleasures she craves.

To adopt this way does not, in their own minds, represent the moral catastrophe that it would for women of different antecedents. Nothing is surer than that among this class a girl or woman may temporarily adopt a life of shame, return to honest work when times grow better, or when, for some reason, she wishes to give up illicit earnings, and make this transit several times, perhaps at the end marrying and living respectably thereafter. Possibly after marriage she may again resort to the old courses. Several of the women in this group were married. But in either case, the fact that she has earned money in this way does not stamp her as "lost." She looks upon it as an episode in her life, not as a cataclysm. Often the return to respectable living is not made, but in far more cases than the public ever dreams of, it is. The fact that a temporary lapse into such a life does not hopelessly discredit a woman makes it easier for her to adopt the life under pressure of circumstances; but it also makes it far easier for her to return to rectitude. And the ease with which, in a large city, a woman may conceal a fall of this kind, if she

chooses to do so, also helps to make a return to virtuous ways easy. Consequently, among women of this class, it must always be remembered that occasional prostitution holds its place in their minds as a possible resource, extreme, to be sure, but not in the least unthinkable, and that their resort to it does not imply the desperate necessity it would among women of a different sort.

EFFECT OF OCCUPATIONAL INFLUENCES.

The closest possible study of this group does not justify the idea that occupational influences had much to do with their going wrong. More of them at the time of their downfall were engaged in domestic service than in any other form of work. The trouble seems to lie much deeper, and might be said to be twofold—lack of training and wrong training. First, there is the lack of any helpful training among the girls themselves. They have but little education, and that little not of a kind to help them in the world outside the schoolroom. They begin as unskilled workers, and unskilled workers they remain. This means long hours, little chance for advancement, little opportunity for ambition or for interest in their work; it also means that their wages are small and their chances of innocent amusement few. And while external circumstances are thus all against them, they have few resources within themselves to offset the dullness of their routine. They are not mentally defective. With opportunities for trade instruction they are entirely competent to become skilled workers, earning good wages, and finding interest and a field for ambitious striving within their work. Lacking such training, is it any wonder that they seek some change and excitement and take it where it is to be found?

The second, and perhaps even more potent, reason is the evil training which at present seems almost inseparable from life in the poorer quarters of a great city—the familiarity with vice from early childhood, a familiarity which robs it of its repulsiveness and makes it seem a possible resource, a mere incidental stepping aside without lasting consequences of sufficiently serious import to be prohibitive. When, from childhood, girls have seen vice practiced, when they are familiar with all its details, when they know just how easy and remunerative they can make it, they may not be vicious, but they will yield to a stress of circumstances which would not affect a girl of different surroundings and training. The wonder is not that some go wrong, but that so many do not.

THE PROFESSIONALLY IMMORAL WOMAN: A STUDY OF 100 CASES.

Like the occasional prostitute, the professionally immoral woman is seldom met with in refuges and homes, and it is usually exceedingly difficult to secure reliable information from or concerning her. In

the winter of 1908–9, however, the Bureau of Labor secured studies of 100 women living habitually immoral lives in Boston, taken under such conditions that the women did not know what was going on, and consequently had neither temptation nor opportunity to assume the defensive and give a too favorable account of themselves. The Bureau has ample reason to believe the studies entirely reliable. They deal almost entirely with women of sufficient beauty, or intelligence, or charm, or all three combined, to make an immoral life financially profitable. Only one is described as of "the servant-girl type." Some are of unusual intelligence and culture, while only a few can be considered below the average mentally. They are precisely the kind who are lacking in the homes and refuges, and if the better class of workers go wrong to any extent, their intelligence and training should make them gravitate to this group.

OCCUPATIONS OF THOSE FORMERLY IN GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT.

Forty-two of these women entered the life directly from their own homes, never having been self-supporting, while the remainder came from the ranks of the workers. At the time of their first decisive misstep, these were divided among different occupations, as shown by the following table:

	Cases.
Domestic and personal service:	
Domestics	1
Ladies' maid	1
Nursemaid	2
Manicurist	1
Trained nurse	4
Waitresses	15
Total	24
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits:	
In factories	13
Dressmakers	3
Milliner	1
Total	17
Trade and transportation:	
Saleswomen	7
Stenographers	4
Telephone operator	1
Cashier	1
Demonstrator	1
Total	14
Miscellaneous:	
Teacher	1
Chorus girls	2
Total	3

POSSIBLE RELATION BETWEEN OCCUPATION AND FIRST MISSTEP.

A cursory examination of the detailed studies shows that in the majority of cases there is no possible connection between the occupation and the going wrong. Thus, the milliner "lived at home with her mother, a fast woman," taking in work irregularly, until she decided to follow her mother's example. One of the waitresses was misled under promise of marriage and when "her father ordered her to leave her home and take her baby with her" the poor girl fell hopelessly into the power of her betrayer, who forced her into a life of promiscuous immorality. A factory girl entered the life under the influence of her mother, a trained nurse met a disappointment in love and plunged into riotous living apparently with the idea of drowning memory at all costs, an indolent, pleasure-loving girl found by experiment that she could make more in one evening than by a week's work and concluded to drop the work, and so on.

There are three ways in which occupation might affect a girl's character. It might bring her into dangerous relations with an unscrupulous employer, customer, or fellow worker; among her associates she might meet women of evil character who would try to lead her into their own ways, or her wages might be so small that she would be forced to supplement them as best she might. The effect of any of these causes would naturally vary with the girl's own moral strength. One would be unaware of even the existence of temptation where another would fall. Ignoring, for the present, the question of responsibility and looking only for a connection between the girl's occupation and fall, we find that in 14 cases one exists, the occupation and the connection being as follows:

	Cases.
Domestics in private families	2
Young girls seduced by employers' husbands.	
Waitresses in hotels or restaurants	4
One went astray with employer, 3 with customers.	
Dressmakers	2
Both through associations formed while at work.	
Factory girl	1
Through associations formed while at work.	
Saleswomen	2
One with employer, 1 through need of money, owing to ill health and low wages.	
Stenographer	1
Employer responsible.	
Telephone operator	1
Through associations formed at work.	
Chorus girl	1
Through associations formed at work.	

Let us see next how far this connection may be considered causal. The two domestics, young girls of 15 and 16, were seduced and deserted in such cold-blooded fashion that one would not willingly minimize

the men's share in the matter; yet neither seems to have had any particular morality to begin with, and with each it seems probable that she would have taken to the life sooner or later, unless guarded with a degree of care a working girl is not likely to receive. One is described as "a pretty but very coarse girl, fond of money, and thoroughly degenerate." The other is "thoroughly degenerate. A most ungrateful, dishonest girl, lazy and worthless. She drinks and is without any sense of modesty or decency." In these cases the connection is almost certainly incidental, not causal.

Of the four waitresses, one was "a nice, modest girl, who meant to do right," who, misled and then cast adrift by her employer, struggled to regain the right way even after her fall, but was forced down by those ready to take advantage of her helpless situation. The second came as a stranger to the city, got a situation as a waitress which she held for a month, and then gave it up to live with "an old gentleman whom she met in the restaurant." The third had much the same experience, except that she worked a little longer. The fourth was a married woman with two children. As her husband, in addition to being drunken and abusive, refused to support her, she left him and went to work as a waitress. While thus employed she met a wealthy man, himself married, who volunteered to assume the responsibilities of the recreant husband. She assented, apparently without any scruple, and, finding the necessaries of life thus assured, set about securing a surplus by opening a "very quiet, select house" for immoral purposes. Here her mother lives with her, and the only sign of moral feeling she displays is that she keeps the two children away at boarding school. Of the four, only the first showed any capacity for being harmed; the others were either nonmoral or actively immoral, and their occupation was an accidental accompaniment, not a cause of their going wrong.

The two dressmakers were each in business for herself, each was unusually skillful, and each had a good many women of bad character among her customers. These customers began inviting the dressmakers to the houses in which they lived, where the two workers, at first merely taking part in the diversions of the place, soon glided into its life. One of them has two sisters who are also leading immoral lives, so that the family tendency would seem to be bad; the other is described as a quiet girl of naturally good feeling, who was led away by her association with such women, and by the chances thus offered to gratify a love of luxury.

The one factory girl was led into immorality by a girl friend whom she met at her work, who strongly advocated the attractions of an immoral life as compared with steady industry. She seems to have been naturally a good girl, but weak, easily influenced, and too fond of dress to resist such a chance of gaining it.

Of the two saleswomen, one was a thoroughly depraved girl, who seems to have taken her position merely to give herself a color of respectability. She came to Boston to join a sister who was keeping a disreputable house, and while living with her she took a position as saleswoman, and at once entered upon an improper intimacy with her employer. This was merely the first incident of the life of promiscuous immorality upon which she promptly embarked, and there is certainly no causal connection between her work and her deviations. The other presents a pathetic contrast. She was alone, with nothing to depend on but her salary of $7 a week. For several years she lived on this, but finally gave up the struggle as her health and courage were failing.

Says she used to come home to her room in winter, frozen with cold—no heat in the room—so tired she often cried herself to sleep, and got up feeling more tired than when she went to bed. To use her own words, she says: "I do not wish even to remember the misery of those days. Now, I get enough to eat, can stay in bed and rest myself in the morning, and have a warm room and some clothes to wear; before, I used to look like a fright."

The one stenographer seems to have been a good girl, the victim of her employer, who, when she told him of her condition, denied all responsibility and discharged her. She is described as a "gentle, timid girl, very, very pretty and graceful. She is well educated and seems a superior girl. Her parents are dead, and she is alone in the world." She has no taste for the life she is leading, and apparently entered it merely because, when she did not know where to turn, the only people who showed her kindness were those who used that kindness to lead her further wrong.

The telephone operator presents a complete contrast. She came of a family described as excellent, yet her father and mother were both hopeless drunkards, and her elder sister led an immoral life. "Cora has been well educated, but allowed to do just what she pleased. * * * As a girl of 18 she despised her mother and sister, yet she was willing to accept the luxuries her sister's manner of life afforded her." She secured a position as telephone operator in a first-class hotel, and here she "was continually associated with men who, after hours, took her out to dinners, theaters, etc. In this way she learned to drink, and fell. Her mother was glad when she started on this life, because of the money she brought home, and because men came to the house and brought drink."

The chorus girl was a pretty, gentle little thing, with good impulses but so weak that it was hardly possible she should not go wrong unless most carefully guarded. For such a girl it was a foregone conclusion that any unprotected life would lead to disaster.

It will be seen that in the majority of these cases, the occupation had no responsibility for the girl's going wrong. It was an accompaniment rather than a cause.

Another and perhaps more satisfactory way of estimating the occupational influence is to decide, as far as the data given will permit, how many of these 58 women were originally of normally good character—women who would really have preferred to "live straight," and what were the causes through which they went astray. The telephone operator, for instance, will hardly be included here, as she seems to have gone astray in as unconcerned a manner as might be expected from the daughter of such a mother, and to have enjoyed the life when once she had slipped into it. There are 16 who did not take the matter so casually, who give us the following list:

Case 91. Waitress.....Through her affections.
Case 88. Waitress.....Through her affections; employer.
Case 29. Waitress.....Bad family influences and laziness.
Case 12. Ladies' maid.....Through her affections.
Case 51. Trained nurse.....Through her affections.
Case 53. Trained nurse.....Through her affections.
Case 24. In watch factory.....Through her affections.
Case 84. In shoe factory.....Through her affections.
Case 49. In shoe factory.....Through mother's influence.
Case 4. In shoe factory.....Through her affections.
Case 77. Crepe paper factory.....Influence of friend made at work.
Case 41. Saleswoman.....Inadequate wages and ill health.
Case 81. Stenographer.....Through her affections; employer.
Case 42. Demonstrator.....Lack of work.
Case 71. Teacher.....Through her affections.
Case 21. Chorus girl.....Associations of work.

This gives 5 whose fall might, in fairness, be attributed to their work. One waitress and 1 stenographer were misled by their employers, a factory worker and a chorus girl fell through associations formed at their work, and 1 saleswoman found her salary insufficient. One demonstrator, having lost her position, could not succeed in getting another, an economic rather than an occupational cause. The other 10 went astray through associations formed outside of their work and in nowise connected with it.

It will be noticed that the unscrupulous employer does not appear as extensively here as might have been anticipated. In the whole group he is found but four times, and among the women of good inclinations he appears as a cause only twice. This is, of course, far too often, but it would appear to indicate that he is not the universal menace to the morals of working girls that he is sometimes represented to be.

EFFECT OF LOW WAGES AND WANT.

Neither do low wages nor want appear as conspicuously as might have been expected. The waitresses received nominal wages ranging from $4 to $7 a week, but as board was always given in addition, and

as tips were received ranging in value from $2 to $8 a week, the real wages were considerably in excess of the nominal. The factory workers earned from $6 to $12 a week, and in every case were living at home. The saleswomen received from $5 to $10 per week, the average being $7.15. The one who received as low as $5 was living with her parents. The stenographers were paid from $10 to $18 per week, the average being $13. The dressmakers worked for themselves, and their earnings are not stated. The chorus girl received $15 a week, and the trained nurses, who had no difficulty in securing engagements, made from $21 upward a week when working. The women themselves do not complain of these wages at all generally. One saleswoman has already been referred to who found life unendurably hard on $7 a week. One other ascribed her fall as due in part to wage conditions. She came to Boston some years ago "with her father, and for a time kept house for him. Afterwards entered a store, but soon gave it up, as the pay"—$7 a week—"was too small, and the work too fatiguing." As this girl is described as being "too lazy even to earn her living as a fast woman," it seems hardly reasonable to ascribe her downfall to the amount of her earnings as a saleswoman.

Want is a different matter from low wages, and is more effective among those who have not been self-supporting than among the workers. In the whole hundred cases there are six in which the downfall is ascribed to this cause. Four of those thus influenced were married women. In two cases the husbands apparently inducted them into the easiest way of getting money. Both these women had children to support, and this fact may have seemed to them to justify earning money by any means. It does not alter the fact, however, that there was a natural wage-earner by whom the family should have been supported without any demand upon the wife to bring in money. The third woman was married to a man who abused and failed to support her, so she finally left him. "Has tried to get work, but failed to support herself properly. She started to drink through despondency and was introduced to the art of making money by another girl whom she met down town." In the fourth case a girl "fell voluntarily before the age of 20," but reformed and became a faithful wife to a man who treated her so badly that she was forced to leave him. "She has one child, a girl 6 years old. Since leaving her husband she has not cared very much what became of her. She could not get work, and could not support herself and child, so started in to lead a fast life."

Of the unmarried women who began the life through need, one was a demonstrator, earning from $20 a week upward, and apparently a woman of superior qualities. "She is a fine housekeeper and not lazy. Lost her position through no fault of her own, and could not secure another. Was a virtuous woman until then. She has gone

astray more for her mother's sake than her own. This woman does not drink, never uses bad language, is an ideal daughter, and belongs to a good old family." In the second case filial affection was also the deciding factor. A girl of 18 had an invalid mother, married a second time to a man who, when she became an invalid, failed to give her the care she needed. The girl appears to have reviewed the situation calmly, concluded that her beauty surpassed her ability to earn an honest living, and that therefore, as a business proposition, it was well to make the most of her gifts. She accordingly entered upon a life of vice, turning over her earnings to her mother as regularly and unreservedly as the daughter of another kind turns over her weekly pay envelope.

Of these six cases it will be noticed that there is only one, that of the demonstrator, in which the need was not due to the fault or failure of some one who should have been the wage-earner.

The need of money is far more potent in keeping women in the life than in causing their first wrong step. Case 31, for instance, while living at home was seduced under promise of marriage by a man who brought her to the city, placed her in a lodging house, and soon deserted her. "Landlady was a kindhearted but 'fast' woman, and the poor girl would have starved had it not been for her. She was ill a long time, but the landlady was kind to her and took her to her own doctor." On recovery the girl secured a position as saleswoman, but found the work hard and considered the wages—$7 a week—insufficient, so decided to give up her position and enter a house of bad character.

Her case differs from others only in that she secured honest work after having been abandoned. More often the girl of respectable antecedents who has taken her first step astray finds herself in a helpless position, perhaps unable to secure work, or to do it if she could get it. If she attempts to reestablish herself, at the very best she has before her a life of hard work, small income, limited pleasures, and little or no prospect of improvement in any of these particulars. The downward way is easy to enter, and financially its returns are good. There she can find, for a time at least, ease, luxuries, and excitement; if she has a child, she can support it much more easily thus than by the work she can find elsewhere. Economic pressure may not have led to her downfall, but it is a strong factor in keeping her in the wrong path when once it has been entered.

Since so few of the workers were affected by occupational influences, and since those who went wrong from their own homes were not influenced by them at all, it may be as well to study the hundred cases as a whole to see what conclusions can be reached as to the cause of their going wrong. Of the whole group, 21 seem to have been normally good women who were led astray through their affections. Had the right kind of help been at hand when they made their first

misstep it seems probable that they would have recovered themselves and led an upright life thereafter. But the struggle was too hard for them unaided, and they went down.

APPARENT UNDERLYING CAUSE OF GOING WRONG.

In 22 cases heredity and early training are more than sufficient to account for the downfall. In one case a girl was brought up by an aunt, who kept a house of bad repute, and finding the girl was pretty placed her in this house as an inmate at the age of 16. Of another case the record runs: "Father dead, mother runs a 'road house.' Seduced at her mother's house when a child. Used to sell the drinks and take charge of the cash. Has led a fast life all along." Of another, an illegitimate child: "Mother ran a fast house in the city, and girl was seduced in her mother's house. Lately was arrested in home of her aunt, who was raided in the West End. She is an exceedingly pretty young girl, but of course does not know anything but evil. Her mother has made money by her good looks since the child was 12 years old. She has four aunts, all above the average in good looks, and all four have run fast houses in the city. She drinks, smokes, uses bad language, and is a thorough degenerate." Of still another: "Father died when she was a child, mother a 'fast' woman. Can not remember particulars of her fall. Thinks she was about 12 years old. She told me, in her own words: 'I was born bad. I never knew anything else, as a child, only to do as I felt like doing. My mother told me so.'"

Naturally, girls brought up under such conditions go wrong; it would be a miracle if they did not.

The remaining 57 fall into two classes—the nonmoral and the immoral. The former are by far the more numerous. They are entirely familiar with the idea of professional immorality, and to them it takes its place simply as one way of earning a living. As far as concerns adopting it themselves, they are in a state of unstable equilibrium, and a very slight force is sufficient to destroy their balance. The determining cause may be almost anything. A girl meets a married man who promises to secure a divorce and marry her, and on the strength of this promise assumes relations with him at once. Another learns from the reports of her companions that she can make more money in a single evening than by a whole week's work, and "not get all tired out, standing on her feet." Another is fond of dress and finery, and can not gratify her tastes on her legitimate earnings. Another indulges in drinking parties with young men, and the natural results follow. From curiosity another visits disreputable resorts, and is attracted to the life. Most frequently of all, perhaps, the girl objects to work, and craves amusement and excitement. In short, she might lead a decent life if circumstances

were altogether favorable, but if they are not she enters upon the other life almost casually.

Sometimes her moral attitude is very curious. Of one woman with two children we are told that she is fond of teaching them their Sunday school lessons "and spends most of her spare time studying the different religious philosophies. Attends all the different churches on Sunday and often during the week. She is a very attractive, pretty woman, but does not seem to know right from wrong, and thinks if she is making money to educate her children and support them, her motive being good, the sin attached to it can not be sin."

Few of them reason as much as this about the matter. Several keep up attendance at church, but they do not trouble themselves to reconcile this with the life they are leading. They are fully convinced that there is no connection between religion and business. One woman, for instance, went astray very early and has followed the life persistently. She is now 22. "She is a beautiful girl, always richly dressed, very clean, neat, and orderly; sends money regularly to her parents. She seems born to the life, and the only regret she seems to have is her lack of money at times. She goes regularly to religious services, and keeps well up along the line of church duties."

Another is a better educated girl than the last mentioned, but has no moral sense. For two years she studied nursing at a private hospital but decided not to finish the course.

During the time of her training as a nurse she spent her afternoons 'off duty' at a fast house, and on account of her youthful appearance made a great deal of money. She is a typical case, has no idea of honor or morality; all she thinks about is money and fine clothes. She is very pretty and looks like a schoolgirl. She is well educated but has no feeling that she is leading a bad life.

With varying details, the above description would apply to all of this class. The women who were first led astray through their affections often hate and despise the life from which they are yet not strong enough to free themselves, but to this class such a feeling would be wholly incomprehensible. Immorality offers them an easy and profitable pursuit, and they have no feeling of reluctance about profiting by it. They often have an intellectual appreciation of the fact that other people do not share their attitude toward it and therefore, in the absence of some special incentive, they refrain from it, exactly as a woman of a different type would refrain from appearing in a negligee, no matter how decorous or becoming, at a formal affair. It is a concession to the established conventionalities. But such concessions must not be carried too far, and given an incentive, they renounce the conventionalities without hesitation to follow the path of least resistance.

The others, the women who are actively immoral, present a very curious problem. They love evil rather than good and follow it with a purposeful zest very different from the easy nonmorality of the preceding group. Occasionally they are of the true criminal type, drugging and robbing the men who seek them, and taking a pleasure in leading young girls into their own kind of life. More often they are satisfied with leading thoroughly immoral lives themselves and letting others follow their own devices. Occasionally they have an intellectual appreciation of the superiority of virtue to vice and try to keep others out of their sort of life. The most curious case among the whole hundred is of this kind. Case 18 is described as:

The daughter of excellent parents, cultivated, religious, and wealthy people. Fell voluntarily. Has never loved any one man. Is very bohemian and likes a big time all the time. She has an allowance from her father sufficient to pay all her expenses. Is highly educated. * * * She makes a point every year of taking one girl at a time for several months. She pays all the girl's expenses, and tries to secure her a husband or reinstate her where she was before she fell, and has helped quite a few to a better way of living. * * * Her apartments are frequented by a wealthy, cultivated, bohemian class of people.

There is no other case quite equal to this. Among those of immoral parentage and training, there are, of course, some who delight in evil for its own sake, but with them the taste is quite explicable; nothing else could reasonably be expected, while in this case the girl had every opportunity to lead a different life. Among the working girls it is difficult to determine whether a girl has adopted the life through a love of immorality or as a natural consequence of home conditions, as details concerning their parentage were not always attainable. Among the nonworkers, eight came from good and comfortable homes and seem to have taken up an immoral life simply through this perverted taste for vice.

SUMMARY AS TO OCCUPATIONAL INFLUENCES.

To sum up. Among this whole group of 100, taken from the women who have made a financial success of immorality, occupational influences seem to have been almost nil. In 16 cases a connection could be traced, but in all but 5 the relation was merely incidental, not causal. Want seems to have played a very small part in leading women astray but to have had considerable influence in keeping them in the wrong path when once the start had been made. About one-fifth of the whole number had been betrayed and deserted and might very probably have been saved to a moral life had help been at hand in their hour of need. They do not represent the strongest type of

womanhood, but they did not become immoral women from choice. A slightly larger number came from homes which made virtuous living practically impossible. Some of these are merely weak, more are actively vicious, but all are the products of their parentage and environment. Breaking up the families when the children were small and putting them under better influences might have saved them, but as that was not done their downfall was inevitable. They never had a chance to be anything but immoral. Of the remainder, a few were moral perverts who chose to go wrong in spite of excellent opportunities for going right, but the most were weak or vain or fond of excitement, or indolent, or easily influenced, or had a taste for drinking, and had no strength in themselves to resist outside allurements. Their virtue or their vice would always be largely a matter of circumstances.

How far do these studies throw any light upon the question of occupation as related to immorality? They must be used with much caution, both because they cover so few cases, and because they do not include all the data desirable, but so used, they seem to confirm the conclusions reached before. They show little connection either between occupation and immorality, or want and immorality. They show that a considerable number of those having any occupation came from the ranks of the waitresses, whose occupation has often been cited as offering unusual temptations. They indicate, which the other studies have not done, that this preponderance is due to the attraction which these very temptations possess for some of those yielding to them.

But principally these studies seem to indicate that these women, the more intelligent class of female wrongdoers, go wrong because of causes operative long before they enter the industrial world. Their downfall is due to moral causes, to their inheritance and early training, or to lack of training. Their entrance into the industrial world was not responsible for the existence of their unfortunate tendencies, and in the majority of cases it did not even furnish the occasion for their manifestation.

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